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PACIFIC STUDIES

Vol. II, No. 2

Spring 1979

A RUSSIAN VIEW OF HAWAII IN 1804

by Daniel D. Tumarkin

On 7 August 1803, the ship *Nadezhda*, under the command of Ivan F. Krusenstern, and another ship, the *Neva*, under the command of Iurij F. Lisiansky, left Kronshtadt for a round-the-world voyage. The expedition was assigned to deliver various supplies to Russian America, pick up the furs stocked there, endeavor to initiate fur trade with China, and make arrangements for trade with Japan. The *Nadezhda* took aboard an embassy to Japan led by N. P. Rezanov (son-in-law of G. I. Shelekhov), one of the organizers of the Russian-American Company. Its main office instructed the head of the expedition, Krusenstern, to visit the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, where the ships were to part ways: the *Nadezhda* was to proceed to Japan while the *Neva* was to head to Kodiak Island.¹

Books, articles, diaries, and letters left behind by the participants in the voyage contain valuable data on the history and ethnography of the countries they visited. The present paper is based on the data furnished by ten expedition staff members. The destinies of these data and the extent of their scholarly circulation are vastly different. While the books by Krusenstern² and Lisiansky,³ translated into West-European languages shortly after publication, as well as the book by G. H. Langsdorff (subsequently a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences and a man renowned for his

¹Instruktsiya Glavnogo Pravleniya Rossiysko-Amerikanskoi kompanii Gospodinu flota kapitan-leitenantu Krusensternu, 29 maya 1803 g. [Instructions, Main Office of the Russian-American Company to Lieutenant-Captain of the Navy Krusenstern, 29 May 1803], USSR Central State Historical Archives (TSGIA), f. 15, op. 1, d. 1, l. 150.

²Ivan F. Krusenstern, *Puteshestviye vokrug sveta v 1803-1806 godakh* [A Voyage Round the World in 1803-1806], 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: Imperial Marine, 1809-1812).

³Iurij F. Lisiansky, *Puteshestviye vokrug sveta v 1803-06 godakh* [A Voyage Round the World in 1803-1806], 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: F. Drechsler, 1812).

extensive exploration of Brazil), published in German¹ and immediately reprinted in English, have been extensively used by scholars of many countries for many decades, publications by other participants in the voyage have been studied predominantly by Soviet scholars, normally outside the context of the history and ethnography of the Pacific Islands. Besides, some of these writings have handwritten versions, which are substantially different from the printed. For instance, the original diary of M. I. Ratmanov, one of the *Nadezhda* officers, is kept in the Central State Archives of the USSR Navy⁵ while another version of it, which must have been compiled during the expedition's stay in Kamchatka, is to be found in the Manuscript Department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Leningrad.⁶ The Records of Lieutenant-Captain Ratmanov, published in the fortnightly *Yakhta*⁷ in 1876, are based on his original diary but exhibit substantial cuts and individual inserts. Similarly, the book by another fellow-voyager of Krusenstern, F. I. Shemelin,⁸ a clerk of the Russian-American Company, has some details available in his handwritten journal⁹ left out but contains extra data derived from different sources. Besides this, when the manuscripts by Ratmanov and Shemelin were being prepared for publication they were made subject to substantial editorial correction.

The records of Nikolai I. Korobitsyn, another clerk of the Russian-American Company, who sailed aboard the *Lisyansky* ship, had an interesting fate. They were accidentally discovered by researchers in 1940 and shortly published.¹⁰ The disclosure of data left behind by participants in the voyage continued after the Second World War. For example, the

¹G. H. Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803 bis 1807*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: F. Williams, 1812).

⁵*Zhurnal Ratmanova* [Journal of Ratmanov], The Central State Archives of the USSR Navy (TSGAVMF), f. 14, op. 1, d. 149.

⁶*Zhurnal M. Ratmanova* [Journal of M. Ratmanov], Manuscript Department of the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library (ORCPB), f. 1000, op. 2, N 1146.

⁷*Zapiski kapitana-leitenanta Ratmanova* [Records of Lieutenant-Captain Ratmanov], *Yakhta* (1876), NN 16, 18, 24.

⁸Fedor Shemelin, *Zhurnal pervogo puteshestviya rossiyan vokrug zemnogo shara* [Journal of the First Voyage of the Russians Around the World], 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Meditschinskoi Topographie, 1815-1818).

⁹*Zhurnal Rossiysko-Amerikanskoi kompanii . . . prikashchika Shemelina* [Journal of the Russian-American Company . . . clerk Shemelin], ORCPB, F. IV. 59.

¹⁰Nikolai I. Korobitsyn, *Zapiski. Russkie otkrytiya v Tikhom okeane i Severnoi Amerike v XVIII-XIX vekakh. Sbornik materialov pod* [Records. Russian Discoveries in the Pacific Ocean and North America from the XVIII to XIX Centuries. A collection of materials.] ed. A. I. Andreev (Moscow: Academy of Science, 1944).

present author discovered in the USSR Central State Historical Archives a curious account of the expedition compiled by a fellow voyager of Lisiansky, Hiermonk Gedeon,¹¹ employing it in a work on the history of Hawaii published in 1964.¹² Fresh finds are still likely to be discovered.¹³

In Oceania, the first Russian round-the-world expedition visited two Polynesian archipelagos—the Marquesas and Hawaii. A ten-day stay off the Nuku Hiva Island coasts, enabled the Russians to collect a wealth of data on the ethnography of the Marquesas Islands, which still await an all-round evaluation. On 8 June 1804, the two ships approached the island of Hawaii and, without dropping anchor, made a three-day drift off its southeastern coast. In those three days they obtained very little in the way of provisions. The islanders who went aboard the *Nadezhda* explained that food was to be sought in Karakakua (Kealakekua) Bay, on the island's western coast.¹⁴ But Krusenstern was in a hurry to reach Kamchatka in order to have his ship repaired and subsequently to sail on to Japan before the northeasterly monsoons set in.¹⁵ After a farewell ceremony, the *Nadezhda* sailed out into the open sea while the *Neva*, on 11 June entered Kealakekua Bay. Here she made a six-days' stay where the Russian sailors visited the scene of Captain Cook's death. Lisiansky intended

¹¹*Doneseniye ieromonakha Aleksandro-Nevskoi Lavry Gedeona . . . o plavanii na korable Neva v 1803–1806 gg.* [Report of Hieromonk of the Alexander Nevsky Monastery Gedeon . . . on the Voyage aboard the ship *Neva* in 1803–1806.] Manuscript in the TSGIA, f. 796, op. 90, 1809, d. 273. The second part of Gedeon's report describing his sojourn in the Russian settlements in America in 1804–07 and containing his correspondence of these years has been published in 1894 after a manuscript copy kept in the Valaam Monastery. See *Ocherk iz istorii Amerikanskoi pravoslavnoi dukhovnoi missii, Kadiakskoi missii 1794–1837 gg.* [An Essay from the History of the American Orthodox Church Mission (Kodiak Mission 1794–1837)]. (St. Petersburg: n.p., 1894).

¹²Daniel D. Timarkin, *Vtorzheniye kolonizatorov v "Krai vechnoi vesny"* [The Invasion of Colonizers in the "Land of Eternal Spring."] (Moscow: Academy of Science, 1964), pp. 72, 73, 82, and 180.

¹³A paper dedicated to the memory of V. N. Berkh, one of the *Neva* officers, which was published in *Zapiski Uchyonogo Komiteta Glavnogo Morskogo Shtaba* [Proceedings of the Scientific Committee of the Chief Naval Headquarters], 12 (1835), 332–335, among others, mentions his paper, "Journal of a Round-the-World Voyage which Complements the Journal Published by the *Neva* Commander," adding that it appeared "in a periodical." Hence, references to this paper in some works on the history of geographical discoveries and bibliographic publications. However, checking has revealed that Berkh's journal must have remained unpublished and if such a manuscript really exists, it remains to be located. The present author uses in his paper Berkh's paper entitled, "Some Data on the Sandwich Islands," [Nechto o Sandvichevskikh ostrovakh], *Syuz Otechestva*, 43 (1818).

¹⁴Journal of Ratmanov, I.50.

¹⁵Krusenstern, I, 233.

to approach Oahu Island in order to meet famous Tomi-Omi (Kamehameha) who was making preparations for an invasion of Kauai Island. But the news about the deadly epidemic which had hit Oahu led Lisiansky to give up his plan. On 19 June, the *Neva* approached Kauai. Here the ship was visited by the local ruler Tamuri (Kaunualii). On the following day, the *Neva* left the archipelago and set sail for the Russian settlements in America.¹⁶

The *Nadezhda's* three-day drift off Hawaii coasts, which proceeded without disembarkation, did not allow for collecting any substantial information about the local population. The present author, however, feels it would be an error to ignore the contribution made by Krusenstern and his fellow-voyagers to the study of the Hawaiians. As they communicated with the islanders who visited the *Nadezhda*, the voyagers made a number of interesting conclusions. Besides, writings by some of Krusenstern's fellow voyagers—the books by Langsdorff and Shemelin and one of the letters of Rezanov—contain data on Hawaii derived from people who were well familiar with the islands. The point is that following the visit to Japan Rezanov and Langsdorff left the *Nadezhda* and proceeded to Russian America. During their several months' stay in Novo-Arkhangelsk (New Archangel, Sitka, southeast Alaska), in 1805–06, they met American sailors who had visited Hawaii. The sailors told them many interesting facts about the archipelago. Among their informers were John Dewolf of Bristol, Rhode Island, who had sold his ship the *Juno* to the Russian-American Company in October 1805 staying for the winter in Novo-Arkhangelsk, and Captain Jonathan Winship of Brighton, Massachusetts.¹⁷ Shemelin reproduced in his book the data reported by L. A. Hagemeister who had spent three months in Hawaii in 1809 as commander of a Russian ship.¹⁸ Another informer of Shemelin was a Hawaiian youth by the name of Kenokhoia (Kanehoa?), a sailor aboard the *Juno*. At Rezanov's invitation he went to Russia, where, Shemelin said, he was christened, "taught to read

¹⁶Lisiansky, I, 166–85.

¹⁷Langsdorff, I, 166; II, 83. Rezanov to Rumyantsev, 17 June 1806. P. Tikhmenev, *Istoricheskoye obozreniye obrazovaniya Rossiysko-Amerikanskoi kompanii i deistviy yeyo do nastoyashchego vremeni* [An Historical Review of the Formation of the Russian-American Company and its activity until the present time]. 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: E. Veymara, 1861–63), II, 280. See also Frederick Howay, *A Listing of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1785–1825*, ed. Richard A. Pierce (Kingstone, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1973), pp. 55, 64–65, and 70; Hector Chevigny, *Lord of Alaska. Baranov and the Russian Adventure* (New York: Viking Press, 1944), p. 210.

¹⁸Shemelin, I, 153.

and write in Russian" and subsequently "made a student of shipbuilding and other sciences."¹⁹

But, of course, far more elaborate and diverse information about Hawaii is contained in writings by Lisiansky and his fellow-voyagers: Korobitsyn, Hieromonk Gedeon, and V. N. Berkh. Particularly valuable is Lisiansky's own book, which justly ranks among the key sources of the history and ethnography of Hawaii of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. One can only wonder how Lisiansky succeeded in learning so much about the archipelago inhabitants in just a few days. Alongside direct observations, the navigator used in his book information obtained from the British sailor John Young, one of the closest advisers of Kamehameha, and some other foreigners who were staying in Kealahou Bay, from the local temple priest and two Hawaiian chiefs with whom he talked with the aid of interpreters as well as a young Hawaiian nicknamed George Kernick, who had spent seven years in Britain.²⁰ Korobitsyn's records and Gedeon's account effectively complement Lisiansky's book. The article by Berkh holds a somewhat special place. Alongside recollections about the visit to Hawaii and speculations about their strategic position and international status, it contains some data obtained by the author in Canton in 1806 as well as those reported by a "friend" (possibly Hagemeister), who later visited Hawaii.²¹

The first Russian round-the-world expedition visited the Hawaiian archipelago twenty-six years after its discovery by Captain Cook and twenty-five years after his death on the island of Hawaii. It will be remembered that as a result of Cook's last expedition the merchants of western Europe and the United States learned about the formidable fur wealth of the northwest coast of America and the potential for profitable marketing of the furs bartered there in China. When maritime fur trade was launched in the North Pacific in 1785, Hawaii became a base for the ships which were party to this trade. As was pointed out by Langsdorff, the archipelago won this "honour" due to its beneficial geographic position on the sea routes between the northwest coast of America and China, excellent climate, an abundance of fresh food which kept off scurvy, and salt which was required for the primary processing of pelts.²² By the nineteenth century, maritime fur trade in the North Pacific had been actually

¹⁹Shemelin, I, 149, 152, 158.

²⁰Lisiansky, I, 166-67, 178, 180-81, 184-85, 202-03.

²¹Berkh, p. 161.

²²Langsdorff, I, 166-67.

monopolized by the "Bostonians"—the reason why mostly American merchantmen visited Hawaii.²¹

The "invasion" of foreigners (haole) interrupted the independent evolution of Hawaii society touching off manifold changes in the islanders' way of life and bringing them harsh trials. The writings by members of the Krusenstern-Lisyansky expedition reflect this complex and contradictory period in Hawaiian history, when, on the one hand, the rate of social development sped and some technical achievements of Western Civilization were borrowed, and, on the other hand, adverse consequences of regular contacts with foreigners already began to make themselves felt.

The study of data of this expedition as well as of reports made by other voyagers who visited Hawaii at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century gives rise to a major problem: the scholar should see the difference between the traditional features which had existed back in the pre-contact period and the innovations which arose in the transitional period due to contacts with foreigners. These innovations are more easily discernible in the sphere of the Hawaiians' material culture and economic occupations while in discussing their social organization and relations between the commoners (*maka'ainana*) and chiefs (*ali'i*) scholars sometimes exhibit a trend toward transferring to the pre-contact period the situation which had developed at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century.²⁴

With an eye to this problem, an attempt will now be made to make a brief survey of the reports about Hawaii left by the participants in the first Russian round-the-world expedition.

The works by these voyagers, notably the book by Shemelin, contain a number of data on agriculture, the fundamental branch of the Hawaiian economy. The voyagers discussed in particular traditional crops and other plants introduced by Europeans, irrigation structures, and methods of taro growing.²⁵ Langsdorff²⁶ and Lisyansky were right in predicting a great future to Hawaiian sugar cane. But in making this point Lisyansky assumed

²¹H. W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii. The Pioneers, 1789-1843*. (Berkeley: Stanford University Press, 1942), p. 13; Tumarkin, *Vtorzheniye kolonizatorov*, pp. 45-67.

²⁴This problem is considered in M. Kelly's article, "Some Problems with Early Descriptions of Hawaiian Culture," Genevieve A. Highland and others, *Polynesian Culture History: Essays in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1967), pp. 399-410.

²⁵Shemelin, I, 152-55, 160. Korobitsyn, p. 171. Report of Hieromonk, 1.38. Berkh, pp. 164-65.

²⁶Langsdorff, I, 169.

that the cane would "bring the islanders great wealth if they decide to turn it into sugar or rum."²⁷ As is known, under the conditions of foreign domination sugar cane brought "great wealth" to American planters rather than the indigenous population.²⁸

Discussing the domestic animals, pigs, dogs and hens which the Hawaiians had before the discovery of the archipelago by Captain Cook and mentioning the goats and sheep which were introduced here by foreigners,²⁹ the Russian voyagers emphasized the fate of the cattle which had been brought here by George Vancouver. In an effort to insure the animals' safety in 1794, Vancouver obtained from the Kamehameha-headed council of chiefs a ten-year taboo (*kapu*) on all cattle he had brought. Left to their own devices, the animals soon grew wild. Moving to the mountain forests, they quickly multiplied. Protected by the formidable taboo, they did great damage to the islanders by freely descending to the valleys, trampling the fields, spoiling fruit trees, etc. As Korobitsyn put it, "they have grown so wild that they attack people like beasts."³⁰ By the time the taboo was lifted large herds of wild cattle had roamed Hawaii Island. They had become immune as Kamehameha's property. "The islanders do not kill this cattle and do not use it either," wrote Shemelin. "Foreigners alone, with the king's permission, sometimes kill several animals . . ."³¹ Only in the Kamehameha estate, in the village of Kealakekua, did V. N. Berkh see a "tame cow with a calf."³²

Writing about the Hawaiians' traditional food, Lisyansky and Shemelin touched on methods of cooking and preserving some foods and, in this connection, offered a fairly detailed description of the local earth oven.³³ More briefly, they gave accounts of the method of making the intoxicating ritual beverage kava (*'awa*), whose drinking was a privilege of the chiefs.³⁴

The writings by members of the expedition staff also contain data on the design and interior of the traditional Hawaiian dwelling, which, for

²⁷Lisyansky, I, 213.

²⁸See Theodore Morgan, *Hawaii. A Century of Economic Change, 1778-1876* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), ch. 12; Daniel D. Tumaarkin, *Gavanskiy narod i amerikanskiye kolonizatory, 1820-65 gg.* [The Hawaiian People and the American Colonizers, 1820-65] (Moscow: Academy of Science, 1971), ch. V.

²⁹Shemelin, I, 152; Korobitsyn, p. 171; Report of Hieromonk, 1.38.

³⁰Korobitsyn, p. 171. See also Lisyansky, I, 225-26.

³¹Shemelin, I, 152.

³²Berkh, p. 165.

³³Lisyansky I, 209-10; Shemelin I, 159-60.

³⁴Shemelin, I, 154; Krusenstern, I, 236.

ritual considerations, consisted of six individual structures. As Lisiansky put it, the "palace" of Kamehameha in Kealahou "except for its large size, was exactly like the others" but each structure "stands on an elevated stone platform."¹⁵

All voyagers who wrote about the Hawaiians discussed their appearance, clothes, haircuts, and decorations. In particular, attention is merited by the description of men's and women's haircuts.¹⁶ In discussing the traditional everyday clothes made from tapa (the male loin-cloth *malo*, the female skirt *pa'u* and the cape *kihei* which was worn during heavy rains or in cool periods) as well as the chiefs' ceremonial attires (the cloaks *'ahu'ula* and the helmets *mahiola* made from bird feathers),¹⁷ the Russian voyagers, at the same time, said that the Hawaiians had developed a fashion for foreign worn-out clothes.

While the chief who was in charge of the Kamehameha estate in Kealahou went aboard the Russian ship in canvas trousers and a satin waistcoat over his naked body,¹⁸ ordinary islanders, said Korobitsyn, were dressed each in his own fashion: "having no shirts, trousers and shoes, some wore frock-coats, others caftans (very long male coats), still others sailors' jerseys and hats."¹⁹ "An odd picture!" exclaimed Gedeon. "One walks out in a caftan alone without a shirt and trousers on, another in a camisole or waistcoat, a third in ordinary or sailor's trousers alone."²⁰ This fashion did not emerge of its own accord. It was introduced by foreign sailors, primarily the "Bostonians," who strove to obtain necessary provisions for next to nothing. While nails, pieces of iron, beads and other European trinkets had already ceased to be a novelty and elicited barely any demand,²¹ foreigners received large amounts of food and some other supplies in exchange for worn-out clothes.²² There arose a substantial demand

¹⁵ Lisiansky I, 172-73, 177, 208-09. See also Korobitsyn, p. 173.

¹⁶ Journal of . . . clerk Shemelin, I, 171-78; Shemelin I, 143, 151; Lisiansky I, 204-05; Report of Hieromonk, 1.37; N. P. Rezanov, "Pervoye puteshestviye rossiyan vokrug sveta [The First voyage of the Russians around the world]," *Otechestvennye Zapiski*, 24 (1825), 249.

¹⁷ Lisiansky, I, 205-06; Shemelin I, 155; Korobitsyn, p. 171; Journal of M. Ratmanov, I.50.

¹⁸ Report of Hieromonk, 1.37.

¹⁹ Korobitsyn, pp. 169-70.

²⁰ Report of Hieromonk, 1.37-38.

²¹ Lisiansky, I, 207; Krusenstern I, 239; Report of Hieromonk, 1.38; Letter of F. Romberkh to his friends, 16 August 1804, ORGPB, Collection of A. A. Titov, N 791, 1.37. Romberkh (Romberg) was one of the *Nadezhda* officers.

²² Lisiansky, I, 206; Korobitsyn, p. 170. [A practice Lisiansky and his men continued, "we parted here with all our rags, in exchange for provisions and other articles which we were in want." Editor's comments].

for wool cloth: some islanders had begun to make cloth *pa'us* and *malos*.⁴¹

As was pointed out by some of the voyagers, tattoo was not widespread among the Hawaiians and was far less sophisticated than on Nuku Hiva,⁴² but, curiously, its motifs also reflected the changes which had taken place in Hawaii. Rezanov and Langsdorff said that the islanders who had visited the *Nadezhda*, alongside geometric ornaments, lizards, and fishes, had had goats and guns with bayonets tattooed on their bodies.⁴³

Of the Hawaiian handicraft items, the Russian voyagers noticed above all tapa (*kapa*), artistically decorated, sturdy bark-cloth. Lisyansky left behind a fairly elaborate description of how it was manufactured.⁴⁴ "The local people would appear to have a great ability and taste for handicrafts; all things they make are extremely good; but their gift for cloth-making simply surpasses the imagination," he writes about the Hawaiian tapa. "The blend of colors, excellence of design and perfect observation of proportions would earn fame to any manufacturer even in Europe."⁴⁵ The members of the expedition staff also noted the craftsmanship of the Hawaiian canoe builders.⁴⁶ But they must have failed to notice that in those years the Hawaiians had successfully begun to master Western crafts.⁴⁷

The manifold changes in the islanders' life due to the development of contacts with foreigners could not leave the power structure unaffected. When Captain Cook's expedition was staying in Hawaii there were four small potestarian (pre-state) formations with centres on Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Kauai. Shortly, an internecine struggle broke out on all these islands which became far more bloody due to the emergence of firearms. As Vancouver wrote, the foreign sailors and traders deliberately whipped up and supported the strife in order to secure profitable sales of the arms and ammunition they brought.⁵⁰

The succession of wars which for many years convulsed the archi-

⁴¹Krusenstern, I, 234; Report of Hieromonk, I, 38; Journal of Ratmanov, I, 28; Records of Lieutenant-Captain Ratmanov, N 24, p. 1332.

⁴²Journal of . . . clerk Shemelin, I, 186-87; Report of Hieromonk, I, 37; Langsdorff, I, 164.

⁴³Rezanov, p. 250; Langsdorff, I, 164.

⁴⁴Lisyansky, I, 214-15.

⁴⁵Lisyansky, I, 213-14.

⁴⁶Krusenstern, I, 237; Journal of M. Ratmanov, I, 49; Langsdorff, I, 165.

⁴⁷See John Turnbull, *A Voyage Round the World in the Years 1800-1804*, 3 vols (London: Richard Phillips, 1805), II, 58; Archibald Campbell, *A Voyage Round the World from 1806-1812* (Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., 1816), p. 199.

⁵⁰George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World*, 3 vols. (London: Robinson & Edwards, 1798), I, 186-87, II, 190-91.

pelago was won by fearless energetic Kamehameha, who, during the visit of Captain Cook, was the ruler of one of the districts on the island of Hawaii. By 1796, he had gained possession of all islands except Kauai and Niihau. The history of the internecine wars which were waged in Hawaii between 1782 and 1795 is fairly elaborately discussed in Lisyansky's book,³² but the use of these data is impeded by the distorted transliteration of the names of the parties to the strife.

Kamehameha's victories were more than successful conquest campaigns (temporary unification of several islands under the rule of a victorious chief had also been observed in the pre-contact period). They marked a turning point in the formation of statehood, a transition from chiefdom to kingdom. This complex process to some extent is reflected in writings by members of the first Russian round-the-world expedition. Lisyansky, for instance, noted that the king wielded "autocratic power" in Hawaii while his possessions were "deemed to be hereditary" but he made the reservation that "it seldom happens that the strongest man makes no claims after the king's death" adding that in strength and influence some of the chiefs were equals of the king.³³

Gaining possession of one island or another, Kamehameha destroyed the local rulers³⁴ and effected an overall redistribution of lands. Leaving some of them in his personal possession, he allotted large plots of land to his closest followers who in turn allotted land to the lower-rank *ali'i* who depended on them.³⁵ Such a system of land distribution and the resulting system of multistage dependence³⁶ were the development and adaptation of the customs which had existed before the arrival of the Europeans in the new situation.³⁷ But the rise of "viceroys" and "viceregents" who were completely dependent on Kamehameha and obeyed his orders³⁸ in individual islands and districts was an obvious innovation and one of the hallmarks of the formation of a centralized state in Hawaii. The system of organization of state power in the more developed form in which it existed in the closing years of Kamehameha's life is surveyed by the Russian

³² Lisyansky, I, 190.

³³ Lisyansky, I, 216-22.

³⁴ Berkh, p. 160.

³⁵ Shemelin, I, 155.

³⁶ Lisyansky, I, 191, 227-28; Shemelin, I, 155.

³⁷ E. S. C. Handy, "Government and Society," in *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, Co., 1965), p. 37.

³⁸ Lisyansky, I, 224; Report of Hieromonk, 1.37; Korobitsyn, p. 172.

navigators Otto E. Kotzebue and Vasilii M. Golovnin⁵⁹ who visited the archipelago between 1816 and 1818.⁵⁹

Gradually creating a new apparatus of coercion, the emerging royal power continued to make extensive use of the traditional forms and methods of social regulation and of insuring the rule of chiefs, especially those related to religion. "All local civic and religious enactments are taboos," wrote Lisiansky. "This word has different meanings but, properly speaking, it designates bans. The king is free to impose a taboo on anything he wishes. However, some taboos are subject to his own observation."⁶⁰ "Among the sacrifices are fruit, pigs and dogs," continued Lisiansky. "Of people only prisoners, general trouble-makers and government opponents are killed in honor of the gods. The latter sacrifice bears a political rather than religious character."⁶¹

As Lisiansky and his fellow-voyagers pointed out, taboos (*kapu*) controlled all aspects of Hawaiian life. In particular, there were a number of bans on women.⁶² But at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, taboos were primarily a tool of oppression by the nobility of the commoners (*maka'ainana*). The well-known poet and naturalist A. Chamisso, who visited Hawaii together with Kotzebue, justly saw the taboos' main social function in the fact that they "separate one social category from another creating impregnable obstacles between the classes of people."⁶³

⁵⁹Otto E. Kotzebue, *Puteshestviye v Yuzhnyi okean i v Beringov prolit v 1815-18 godakh* [A voyage to the Southern Ocean and to the Bering Straits . . . in 1815-18], 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: Gretsh, 1821-23), pp. 38-39; Vasilii M. Golovnin, *Puteshestviye vokrug sveta . . . v 1817-19 godakh* [A Voyage round the world . . . in 1817-19], 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Mor-skoi, 1822), I, 308, 314, 324, 334, 349-50.

⁶⁰The American researcher M. Kelly assumes that the "resemblances to European feudalism" noted in Hawaii by William Ellis and Sheldon Dibble in the 1820s and 1830s were mainly due to the fact that "Western feudal forms had been used as the patterns after which Kamehameha's government was structured according to descriptions provided him by agents of Western culture," primarily Vancouver (pp. 402 and 407). The present author, however, assumes that it was not so much due to the advice taken from foreigners as to the regularities in the development of Hawaiian society, which had exhibited a trend toward the formation of feudal-type relations even before the archipelago was discovered by Captain Cook. The islands' unification under Kamehameha's rule and the resulting changes stimulated the maturing of feudal relations and a relevant power structure.

⁶¹Lisiansky, I, 194.

⁶²Lisiansky, I, 197.

⁶³Korobitsyn, p. 172; Lisiansky, I, 210-11, Report of Hieromouk, 138.

⁶⁴A. Chamisso "Nablyudeniya i zamechaniya yestestvoispytatelya ekspeditsii [Observations and notes of a naturalist of the expedition]," in Kotzebue, III, 395

Communication with foreigners who freely violated the taboos gradually eroded the prestige of the old faith in the islanders' eyes. This began to take distinct forms in the closing years of Kamehameha's life.⁶⁴ But when the archipelago was visited by the first Russian round-the-world expedition, this process must have been in its infancy. This explains why the voyagers wrote nothing about it.

Lisyansky and his fellow-voyagers failed to grasp the dogmatic aspect of Hawaiian religion, but they noted its inherent polytheism and faith in afterlife. They made fairly elaborate descriptions of temples with their statues of gods. "Some of them," said Lisyansky, "represent the gods of war, others of peace, still others of glee and amusement, etc."⁶⁵ According to Lisyansky and Korobitsyn, besides priests, who enjoyed major influence and adhered to the chiefs, there were sorcerers who practiced evil magic; they were hired in order to doom the enemy or offender to death. Both voyagers quite materialistically attributed the effectiveness of this magic to the fact that the victim was informed about the fate which awaited him: "On learning this, his rival, without waiting for retribution from the gods for the offence he committed, loses his peace of mind and even goes insane, due to which many of them . . . take their own lives."⁶⁶

On discussing the Hawaiian calendar, Lisyansky listed the main religious rites and ceremonies which fell on different months⁶⁷ offering in this connection details about the fertility festival *makahiki* which partly resembled ancient Greek Olympic Games. Data on this celebration are also contained in Gedeon's account.

The Russian voyagers said that *makahiki* fell on the twelfth Hawaiian lunar month, beginning in October.⁶⁸ "The people spend a whole month," said Lisyansky, "engaging in all possible entertainment like songs, games and sham battles. The king, wherever he stays, must inaugurate this celebration himself. Before sunrise he dons a richly decorated cloak and . . . sails off from the shore so as to enable himself to return by sunrise. One of the strongest and most skilled warriors is appointed for meeting the king. During the king's alongshore sailing he follows the royal canoe. As soon as it reaches land and the king steps ashore and throws off the cloak the war-

⁶⁴Kotzebue, II, 247; Chamisso, pp. 307-08; Golovnin, I, 357.

⁶⁵Lisyansky, I, 197, 173-76; Korobitsyn, p. 173.

⁶⁶Korobitsyn, pp. 173-74. See Also Lisyansky, I, 197-98.

⁶⁷Lisyansky, I, 194-97.

⁶⁸David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii)*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1951), p. 141. According to more exact data, which were registered later, *makahiki* lasted four lunar months. The Hawaiian year began in November.

rior, staying not further than 30 steps away, throws a spear at him with all his might, which the king either must catch or be killed, for in this case, Hawaiians explain, there is not the slightest dissembling. On catching the spear, the king turns its blunt end up and, holding it in the armpit, continues on his way to the *heiau*, or the main temple of the gods."⁶⁹ "After this," Gedeon extended Lisiansky's account, "the high priest meets the king, takes his spear and, by the sounds of festive exclamations of the whole people, takes it to the above-mentioned *heiau*. When he reappears therefrom and the whole ceremony is completed military fun begins."⁷⁰

Although they gave the first account of this ancient ritual which opened the annual *makahiki* in that period, too, and correctly interpreted some features of the celebration, Lisiansky and Gedeon failed to disclose its main social function. The fact that *makahiki* included the collection of taxes in favor of the paramount chief, who was held to be the embodiment of Lono, the god of fertility, in peacetime escaped their notice. According to Hawaiian beliefs, the offerings to the sacred ruler (he shared them with his retainers and priests) were supposed to insure plentiful crops in the following year.⁷¹

While the members of the Cook expedition, as they themselves admitted, failed to discover anything definite about the Hawaiians' matrimonial customs,⁷² Lisiansky and his fellow voyagers also attempted to collect relevant data. "There are no wedding rituals here," said Lisiansky. "When a man and a woman take a fancy for each other they begin to live together and do so until they quarrel. In the case of mutual displeasure they part all this having nothing to do with the government. Every islander may have as many wives as he is able to support. But usually a king has three of them, a nobleman two, and a commoner one."⁷³ As if correcting this statement, Gedeon wrote, "When they are about to marry the bride gives her groom a shell which she normally wears on her hand while the groom gives her a *mara* or *mana* (*pa'u*?), a word in their language which means a piece of some varicolored fabric, and also presents to her relatives."⁷⁴ From these desultory data which are confirmed by other

⁶⁹Lisiansky, I, 194-95.

⁷⁰Report of Hieromonk, 1.38-39.

⁷¹John P. Li, *Fragments of Hawaiian History* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1959), pp. 75-76.

⁷²J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, 1955-1967), III, 596, 624.

⁷³Lisiansky, I, 211.

⁷⁴Report of Hieromonk, 1.38.

sources, it follows that the dominant form of marital relations among the *maka'ainana* was pairing marriage while the *ali'i* was usually polygamons. To this it can be added that, according to Golovnin, there were cases of polyandry in Hawaii. It was the privilege of women who stood at higher states of the social hierarchy.⁷⁵

The writings by participants in the expedition contain some data on the Hawaiians' burial rites. "Mourning for a dead person," said Lisiansky, "is expressed here by knocking out the front teeth, cutting the hair and scratching the body until blood shows in different places."⁷⁶ The *Neva* commander provided details about the burial ritual of the paramount chief, at different stages of which human offerings were made.⁷⁷ This was followed by a suspension of all sexual taboos and something like a return to promiscuity. "When the king dies all his subjects walk about naked," Lisiansky wrote reporting an account by a Kealakekua temple priest, "and indulge in debauchery for a whole month."⁷⁸ "No woman, not even the noblest category," said Gedeon, "can refuse the most shameful request to the least islander."⁷⁹ Something like this took place in individual districts when the local *ali'i* died but it lasted only several days.⁸⁰

Although, as has been pointed out, the epidemic prevented the members of the first Russian round-the-world expedition from meeting Kamehameha, their writings contain a fairly large amount of data about this Hawaiian ruler whom the British navigator John Turnbull compared to Napoleon during his visit in 1803.⁸¹ These data characterize Kamehameha's personality and activity while they also shed extra light on the situation in Hawaii at the close of the century.

The members of the expedition staff primarily noted Kamehameha's outstanding personal qualities. Lisiansky, for instance, said that "according to all data I have collected, he is deemed to be a man of rare gifts and great boldness."⁸² "Tomoomo (Kamehameha)," Langsdorff observed, "exhibited a great deal of intellect, foresight and efficiency,"⁸³ saying that Kamehameha exercised concern for the spread of new production skills

⁷⁵ Golovnin, I, 300.

⁷⁶ Lisiansky, I, 204; see also Korobitsyn, p. 174; Journal of Ratmanov, I, 49-50.

⁷⁷ Lisiansky, I, 201-03.

⁷⁸ Lisiansky, I, 202.

⁷⁹ Report of Hieromonk, I, 38.

⁸⁰ Lisiansky, I, 202.

⁸¹ Turnbull, II, 30-31.

⁸² Lisiansky, I, 189.

⁸³ Langsdorff, I, 165.

and occupations among the Hawaiians. Shemelin added that he “does not think it beneath him to learn knowledge befitting his title.”⁸⁴

Kamehameha and his followers from the very beginning had seen the danger which threatened the Hawaiians on the part of the foreigners. They decided to establish friendly relations with the captains of foreign vessels in order, first, to prevent, as much as possible, clashes in which all advantages were on the foreigners’ side and, second, to obtain more fire-arms which were necessary for the conquest of the whole archipelago and its subsequent protection from the foreigners themselves. According to Lisiansky, Kamehameha secured a situation in which foreign sailors felt that they were completely safe in his possessions and absolutely confident that they would find all necessary supplies here.⁸⁵ As a result, the majority of the maritime captains preferred to visit the Kamehameha-ruled islands avoiding contacts with his rivals. Lisiansky added that up to eighteen American ships annually called at Kamehameha’s possessions while Kāmualii (the ruler of Kauai and Niihau) complained that “nobody comes to his lands.”⁸⁶

This policy brought Kamehameha major benefits. “Ten years before this iron in Oweeghee [Hawaii] was so rare that a small piece of it was regarded as the best present but now nobody will so much as look at it,” observed Lisiansky. “. . . The United American States provide him with cannons, falconets [small guns], rifles and other ammunition. All these things are therefore no longer a surprise to them.”⁸⁷

As Rezanov pointed out, Kamehameha encouraged foreigners to settle in his possessions.⁸⁸ He offered the foreigner “useful” land, sometimes whole estates, with gratuitous labor of the local islanders.⁸⁹ At the first stage, needing foreigners for training his troops and building European-type ships, Kamehameha offered employment to any foreigners, which did a lot of harm to the islanders. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, he took a more selective approach to the foreigners who wanted to settle in the state he was creating. According to Langsdorff, Kamehameha began to offer employment “only to well-behaved people with good recommendations of their captains.” Particular welcome was accorded to

⁸⁴Shemelin, I, 151–52.

⁸⁵Lisiansky, I, 189.

⁸⁶Lisiansky, I, 184, 207.

⁸⁷Lisiansky, I, 190.

⁸⁸Rezanov to Rumyantsev, 17 June 1806, in Tikhmenev, II, 280.

⁸⁹Report of Hieromonk, I:37. [Lisiansky reports that Kamehameha had fifty Europeans in his service. Editor’s comments.]

sailors who were skilled at carpentry. Kamehameha continued to attach immense importance to the construction of a European-type fleet.⁹⁰

But then, Kamehameha must have realized that not only fugitive convicts and other foreign vagabonds but all foreigners, including the most "well-intentioned" ones, were dangerous to the Hawaiians. This led him to take a number of measures in order to prevent them from striking deep roots in the islands. Although heeding foreigners' advice, Kamehameha refused to be led by them. This feature of Kamehameha's policy, which was vividly emphasized by Golovnin⁹¹ had barely been reflected in writings by participants in the first Russian round-the-world expedition possibly because their main informers had been John Young and other foreigners. The essence of the matter was no doubt well expressed by the Russian captain M. N. Vasilyev, who visited Hawaii in 1821: "Aware of the advantages of the Europeans, he [Kamehameha] gave them welcome treatment in order to provide education for his people but gave foreigners no power."⁹²

Kamehameha fairly well adapted himself to the new situation which had arisen from the development of trade with foreigners and made efforts to turn these relations to maximum account. As mentioned above, while the Krusenstern-Lisyansky expedition was staying in the archipelago, the common islanders especially strove to obtain from the foreigners their clothes and wool cloth. Meanwhile, Kamehameha, according to Lisyansky and Shemelin, bartered mostly what was necessary for his fleet.⁹³ Besides, he comparatively soon grasped the functions of money and the price of silver and now frequently took only Spanish dollars and piasters in exchange for some supplies.⁹⁴ Kamehameha paid this money for a "Bostonian" three-master,⁹⁵ the first of several big ships he acquired in subsequent years.⁹⁶ His stores were full of various foreign goods.⁹⁷

In an effort to increase his income while uniting the archipelago, Kamehameha concentrated in his hands the sale of pigs and sandalwood to

⁹⁰Langsdorff, I, 167-68.

⁹¹Golovnin, I, 333, 340, 343-44.

⁹²M. N. Vasilyev, "Zapiski o prebyvanii na Gavaiskikh ostrovakh [Notes on the sojourn in the Hawaiian Islands]," TSCAVMF, f. 213, op. 1, d. 104, 1.34-35.

⁹³Shemelin, I, 157; Langsdorff, I, 168.

⁹⁴Shemelin, I, 157; Langsdorff, I, 167.

⁹⁵Rezanov to Rumyantsev, 17 June 1806, in Tikhmenev, II, 280.

⁹⁶Bradley, p. 56.

⁹⁷Shemelin, I, 157.

foreigners.⁹⁸ Attempts to introduce such monopoly may have been made already in 1804. This is evidenced by the ban Lisiansky mentioned on the sale of pigs without the knowledge of the "viceregent" to the Russian expedition.⁹⁹

A remarkable feature of Kamehameha's economic policy was his urge to remove dependence on American merchants who had actually monopolized trade with Hawaii. With this in view, he had begun independent trade with the northwest coast of America, Kamchatka, and especially China.¹⁰⁰ Rezanov and Langsdorff said that in 1806 Kamehameha had applied to A. A. Baranov, the chief manager of the colonies of the Russian-American Company, with a proposal for establishing regular trade having in mind barter of Hawaiian food for cloths, iron, ship-timber and furs.¹⁰¹ Moreover, as Rezanov then wrote, "Toome-ome-o himself wants to come to Novo-Arkhangelsk in order to launch the trade."¹⁰² Prospects for establishing direct relations between Hawaii and the Russian settlements in America must have alarmed the "Bostonians." They took steps to initiate a quarrel between Kamehameha and Baranov.¹⁰³ Later, the Americans succeeded in foiling Kamehameha's attempt to begin the export of sandalwood to China aboard his own vessels.¹⁰⁴

According to Lisiansky, traditionally, the high chief relied on his bodyguard. Besides, he could order all *ali'i* with their *maka'ainana* subordinates to report for war, what Lisiansky described as a militia.¹⁰⁵ In creating a new type of armed forces, Kamehameha leaned on these traditions. As the archipelago was being united more and more, detachments of skilled warriors joined his bodyguard. Aided by foreigners, Kamehameha trained them in handling firearms and thus gradually created something like a standing army. A special role in the armed forces was now

⁹⁸Gabriel Franchère, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the Years 1811-14*, trans. and ed. J. V. Huntington (New York: Redfield, 1854), p. 60; Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), p. 204.

⁹⁹Lisiansky, I, 169.

¹⁰⁰Turnbull, II, 78-82.

¹⁰¹Resanov to Rumyantsev, 17 June 1806, II, 280; Langsdorff, I, 168.

¹⁰²Rezanov to Rumyantsev, 17 June 1806, II, 280; Langsdorff, I, 168.

¹⁰³See Tumarkin, *Vtorzheniye kolonizatorov*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁴K. Khlebnikov, "Zapiski o koloniyakh v Amerike Rossiysko-Amerikanskoi kompanii [Notes about the Colonies in America of the Russian-American Company]," Archives of the Leningrad branch of the Institute of History of the USSR, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, collect. 115, ed. khr. 447, 1.94-95; James J. Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*, 2nd ed. (Boston: J. Munroe & Co., 1844), p. 205.

¹⁰⁵Lisiansky, I, 191-92.

played by the "Guards" who took over some functions of the traditional bodyguard. They always stayed with Kamehameha.¹⁰⁶

In 1804, Kamehameha concentrated on Oahu a large force which, Lisiansky wrote, "can be deemed to be invincible between the South Sea islanders."¹⁰⁷ According to John Young, as quoted by Lisiansky, Kamehameha had there 7,000 warriors and fifty armed foreigners; his artillery numbered sixty pieces and his fleet consisted of hundreds of large war canoes and twenty-one European-type schooners with a displacement of ten to thirty tons.¹⁰⁸ But the reorganization of the armed forces was then far from completed. Alongside the increased bodyguard which must have formed the nucleus of this army, it included a host of militiamen who were predominantly armed with traditional weapons. Apparently, this is pointed out in statements by Lisiansky and Berkh who say that the 7,000 army had only 600 rifles, that Kamehameha had ordered storing stones for slings and, most important, in an unambiguous phrase of Berkh saying that "Tomi-Omi's huge militia, due to diseases which had hit it, had to be disbanded without any action."¹⁰⁹ Subsequently, the permanent army became Kamehameha's main fighting force. The militia was no longer called. But in order to maintain the morale and perfect the military skill of his subjects, Kamehameha now and then held exercises and reviews on all main islands.¹¹⁰

Lisiansky and his fellow voyagers left an account of a meeting with Kaumualii whose armed forces were in every respect a great deal inferior to Kamehameha's army concentrated on Oahu.¹¹¹ "He explained to us with tears in his eyes," recalled Berkh, "that any minute he could be attacked by Tomi-Omi and, because he had poor forces, he feared he might become his victim."¹¹² According to Berkh, Kaumualii "tried to persuade us most forcefully to remain here for a while in order to protect him."¹¹³ The same point is made in Gedeon's account.¹¹⁴ Korobitsyn even said: "He wished our ship would cast anchor at his island for protecting it from King Tomi-Omi, for which reason he would agree to cede his island to

¹⁰⁶ Lisiansky, I, 191; Franchère, p. 68.

¹⁰⁷ Lisiansky, I, 189-90.

¹⁰⁸ Lisiansky, I, 221-22.

¹⁰⁹ Berkh, p. 161; Lisiansky, I, 221. The Emphasis is mine.

¹¹⁰ Golovnin, I, 316; Campbell, p. 207.

¹¹¹ Lisiansky, I, 185.

¹¹² Berkh, p. 160.

¹¹³ Berkh, p. 160.

¹¹⁴ Report of Hieromonk, 1.39.

Russia.”¹¹⁵ If the latter statement was true this episode can be viewed as something like the prehistory of the notorious Schäffer Adventure.¹¹⁶

The epidemic which dreadfully thinned the ranks of Kamehameha's army (he barely missed losing his own life) disrupted the conquest of Kauai and Niihau.¹¹⁷ However, Kamehameha's superiority was so obvious that, without waiting for the invasion, Kaumualii agreed to become his vassal. The final reconciliation took place when Kaumualii arrived in Oahu in order to declare his obedience to Kamehameha in 1810. Such was the conclusion of the unification of Hawaii.¹¹⁸

No doubt Kamehameha's activity generally met the objective requirements of the development of Hawaiian society and, most important, impeded the seizure of the archipelago by foreign powers. But it should be borne in mind that he was a despotic ruler, that the creation of his Europeanized army and fleet, the conquest campaigns and the employment of “useful” foreigners were a heavy burden to the common islanders. This feature of the situation in Hawaii was justly observed in Shemelin's book.

“The situation of the land cultivator is extremely poor and onerous here,” wrote Shemelin, “for the king, despite everything, sometimes confiscates up to two-thirds of the taro and [sweet] potatoes he grows. There are many people who, keeping plenty of their own pigs and dogs, have

¹¹⁵Korobitsyn, p. 175.

¹¹⁶On the Schäffer adventure, see Tumarkin, *Vtorzheniye kolonizatorov*, pp. 134–66. [The Schäffer adventure 1815–17 was an attempt by Georg Anton Schäffer to gain control of as much land on Kauai and Oahu as possible and to monopolize the sandalwood trade on Kauai for the Russian-American Company who had sent him to Hawaii to investigate a Russian ship that had wrecked on Kauai. He allied himself with Kaumualii who promised him “one-half of the island of Oahu for his help against Kamehameha.” The Russians disavowed his actions and Schäffer was forced from the island by both the Americans and the islanders. Ed.] See also Richard Pierce, *Russia's Adventure 1815–17* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965), and N. N. Bolkhovitinov, “The Adventure of Doctor Schäffer in Hawaii, 1815–19,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 7 (1973), 55–78.

¹¹⁷Berkh, p. 161, says that “superstition” alone had kept Kamehameha from making another attempt to invade Kauai. “On his first expedition,” he wrote, “he took along a multitude of idols, which on return, for failure to promote his success, he burned down in front of everybody in a square. The priests interpreted this act to his disadvantage therefore preventing his bold attempt to make another expedition.” As far as I know, this statement by Berkh is not confirmed by other sources. Besides, Berkh did not know that Kamehameha had first attempted to invade Kauai and Niihau back in 1796. But on that occasion, a storm intensely damaged his fleet and a riot raised by several chiefs forced him to return to Hawaii. See W. R. Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean - in the Years 1795–98* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1804), pp. 70–71.

¹¹⁸Li, pp. 79–83; R. S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778–1854. Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1948), pp. 50–51.

never had an occasion to partake of, let alone eat, their meat. The present king, in addition to a heavy tribute, imposes the following burden on his subjects: he frequently gathers cultivators even from distant parts of the island, some for tilling his land, others for aiding in the construction of row boats [canoes], sometimes for building houses, sheds, etc., for which he not only pays them nothing but does not even feed them."¹¹⁹ Shemelin should have added that this was paralleled by more harsh oppression meted out to the commoners by the local nobility for, with the development of trade with foreigners, the *ali'i* were enabled to exchange the surplus product of the labor of the *maka'ainana* subordinated to them for foreign goods, which gave a powerful impetus to the stepping up of the exploitation.¹²⁰ It was precisely the deterioration of the common islanders' situation that, as Shemelin put it, resulted in the "difficulty of keeping oneself alive and hunger, which has taken the toll of many lives even in our time."¹²¹

The unification of the archipelago under Kamehameha's rule and his wise policy toward the foreigners limited their freedom of action on the island and to some extent relieved some adverse consequences of the Hawaiians' acquaintance with Western Civilization. For instance, the internecine wars which had been fanned up by the foreigners and which became much more severe following the introduction of firearms, actually ceased in 1796.¹²² However, the activity of this outstanding ruler, as follows from the accounts of navigators, including the participants in the first Russian round-the-world expedition, failed to keep the islanders from the baneful effect of contacts with foreigners.

The European navigators who first visited Hawaii said that a host of women had reached their ships swimming or in boats.¹²³ This "pilgrimage" must have been something like a manifestation of hospitable heterism, which is shown by many peoples that stand at a similar stage of social evolution: at least in the first period, the Hawaiians looked upon the for-

¹¹⁹Shemelin, I, 156.

¹²⁰The American missionaries Dibble and Richards who lived in Hawaii in the second quarter of the nineteenth century said that even before the archipelago had been discovered by the Cook expedition, the commoners had received not more than one-third of their output, the rest being grabbed by the chiefs and priests. Shemelin's statement reveals that, more probably, this took place at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century when various changes touched off by foreign invasion had set in on the islands.

¹²¹Shemelin, I, 156.

¹²²Morgan, p. 25.

¹²³Beaglehole, III, 486; George Dixon, *A Voyage Round the World . . . in 1785-88* (London: George Goulding, 1789), p. 252.

eign seamen as visitors from unknown distant lands. Taking advantage of this custom and the relative freedom of extramarital sexual relations that prevailed on the islands, foreigners encouraged women by gifts to visit their ships gradually turning these visits into a vicious trade.

Already at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century "prostitution" here assumed fairly large proportions. The *Nadezhda* and the *Neva* had scarcely arrived at the south-eastern coast of Hawaii when boats with women approached the ships.¹²⁴ "One elderly islander brought a very young girl, apparently his daughter, offering her in return for profit," wrote Krusenstern. "Bashful and modest, she appeared to be completely innocent; but her father, unsuccessful in his intention, was greatly vexed at having brought his merchandise in vain."¹²⁵ Lisyansky wrote that in the Kealakekua Bay the *Neva* had been surrounded by a venerable army but he had not allowed a single woman to come aboard the ship.¹²⁶ A factor behind the development of "prostitution" was intensified exploitation of the common islanders by the local nobility. Refuting the claim that the Polynesian women were "naturally wicked" Korobitsyn referred to the "dire plight of these peoples, which forces women to abandon all feeling of shame over the slightest trifle."¹²⁷

According to records made in Captain Cook's journal, he attempted to prevent the spread of venereal disease to Hawaii but failed in his efforts.¹²⁸ Shortly, syphilis became one of the key sources of decrease of the indigenous population. The development of "prostitution" stimulated its spread among the Hawaiians. Participants in the first Russian round-the-world expedition wrote that they had seen its ominous symptoms in many islanders.¹²⁹ The Hawaiians found themselves completely defenseless in the face of this formidable disease, which, Korobitsyn wrote, they attempted to heal by using some root.¹³⁰ Shemelin said that syphilis had also begun to spread here through inheritance: children had conceived it in their mothers' wombs.¹³¹ Foreign sailors also brought to Hawaii other infectious diseases which had previously been unknown here. Among these

¹²⁴Journal of . . . clerk Shemelin, I.174-75, 178; Rezanov, p. 249.

¹²⁵Krusenstern, I, 234.

¹²⁶Lisyansky, I, 169-70. See also Report of Hieromonk, I.37.

¹²⁷Korobitsyn, p. 166.

¹²⁸Beaglehole, III, 266, 474-75.

¹²⁹Records of Lieutenant-Captain Ratmanov, N 24, p. 1333. Letter of F. Romberkh to his friends, 16 August 1804, I.37.

¹³⁰Korobitsyn, p. 171.

¹³¹Journal of . . . clerk Shemelin, I.186.

was the above-mentioned epidemic (apparently cholera), which raged in Oahu in 1804.

Hawaiian kava (*'awa*) has a comparatively low level of toxic properties. Besides, it was used only by chiefs. At the close of the eighteenth century, foreigners began to deliver increasing amounts of cheap brands of rum gradually accustoming the islanders to drinking.¹¹² The participants in the Krusenstern-Lisyansky expedition said nothing about this comparatively new object of barter, which, like the worn-out clothes, enabled the foreigners to obtain necessary supplies for a mere trifle. Shemelin, however, observed that some foreigner who had settled in Hawaii had added an extra source of alcohol poisoning of the islanders to the list by starting the manufacture of something like rum from the roots of a plant named *ti* (*ki*).¹¹³ In the closing years of Kamehameha's life, drunkenness in Hawaii became a major social evil.¹¹⁴

American shipmasters, said Shemelin, frequently took aboard Hawaiians "who serve them very well and cost the shipowners very little in terms of upkeep and payment."¹¹⁵ Kamehameha did not obstruct this activity since he expected that the islanders would get back to Hawaii good sailors.¹¹⁶ However, far from all of them returned for the "Bostonians" at times were not averse to selling recruited or kidnapped Hawaiians in slavery on the northwest coast of America in exchange for sea otter pelts or simply left them there if they no longer needed these people. Discussing these evil deeds, Shemelin added that American Indians bought Hawaiians "as offerings to a deity which they worshipped."¹¹⁷ This statement is also confirmed by Vasilyev. "Some of the Americans, we were told, were so inhuman," he wrote, "that they sold for their benefit these kind Sandwich Islanders to Koloshs [Tlingits] who bought them for offerings."¹¹⁸ In the second quarter of the nineteenth century when Hawaii became the main base of the US Pacific whaling fleet, the recruitment of young Hawaiians to whale boats became a serious factor behind the depopulation of the archipelago. Very few of these sailors returned to their native places.¹¹⁹

¹¹²Turnbull, II, 38.

¹¹³Shemelin, I, 159.

¹¹⁴Golovnin, I, 360.

¹¹⁵Shemelin, I, 158. See also Lisyansky, I, 212.

¹¹⁶Rezanov to Rumyantsev, 17 June 1806, II, 280.

¹¹⁷Shemelin, I, 158.

¹¹⁸Vasilyev, "Notes," 1.27.

¹¹⁹G. Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842*, 2 vols. (London: Colburn, 1847), II, 15; H. Cheever, *The Island World of the Pacific* (New York: Collins, 1855), p. 396.

By 1800, the Hawaiian people had thus entered a period of harsh trials. Simultaneously, it will be recalled, foreigners initiated their early attempts on the independence of the archipelago, however, in the eyes of some foreign observers these negative trends were overshadowed by the changes which were brought about by Kamehameha.

Convinced of the equal ability of all peoples to develop their cultures and follow the road of progress, Lisiansky and Langsdorff assumed that the Hawaiians would soon be able to catch up in their development with the civilized peoples of Europe and America. "Apparently, it can be assumed," wrote Lisiansky, "that the Sandwich Islanders would achieve complete transformation within a short time."¹⁴⁰ Langsdorff, noting that "this people is moving by giant strides towards civilization," predicted that the Hawaiian archipelago would "become an enlightened trading state sooner than any other one in the South Seas."¹⁴¹ These voyagers made a correct appraisal of the Hawaiians. However, they underestimated the pernicious consequences of the coming of the foreigners to the islands.

The present paper, naturally, falls short of offering an all-around survey of the contribution made by the participants in the first Russian round-the-world expedition to the study of the history and ethnography of Hawaii. In particular, the question of the Lisiansky-acquired ethnographic collections has been left out of the picture.¹⁴² But what has been said, the present author feels, reveals that the expedition-obtained data add up to a valuable source which permits the scholar to form an opinion about the manifold changes in Hawaiian life which developed during the twenty-five years which followed the discovery of the archipelago by Captain Cook.

Senior Researcher
Institute of Ethnography
Academy of Science, Moscow, USSR

¹⁴⁰Lisiansky, I, 212. [Our English edition only states, "these islands will not long remain in their present barbarous state . . ." Ed.]

¹⁴¹Langsdorff, I, 167.

¹⁴²Lisiansky, I, 169: "O postupivshikh v Museum redkostyakh ot kapitanov Povalishina i Lisianskogo [On the curiosities received by the Museum from Captains Povalishin and Lisiansky]," TSGAVMF, f. 215, op. 1, g. 762; Y. M. Likhtenberg, "Gavaiskiye kollektsii v sobraniyakh Muzeya antropologii i etnografii [The Hawaiian collections in the holdings of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography]," *Sbornik Muzeya antropologii i etnografii*, 19 (1960).

WORK, WAGES, AND SHIFTING CULTIVATION ON NIUE

by Nancy J. Pollock

The decline of traditional agriculture with urbanization in Oceania, and in particular the "continuing breakdown in the subsistence base of village life" is NOT characteristic of the western Polynesian island of Niue. Rather, the Niuean economy is marked by a combination of wage work and growing taro and other crops by shifting cultivation. Moreover, the same persons use these two forms of economic support both to provide subsistence and to build a house or buy a truck to improve the quality of life. It will be argued firstly that this combination of work patterns is the most rational, given certain features of Niuean environment and culture; and secondly, that by adding wage work to the shifting agricultural means of subsistence provisioning, Niueans keep their options open and maintain the flexibility which is a noteworthy part of their socio-economic system. If a particular source of cash income is worth the effort, then it will be added to the inventory of jobs to be done, but only so long as the returns are considered worthwhile. When the returns decline then it will be dropped. All the while in the bush plots, taro and other root crops have been planted and tended so that they will continue to be available both for household consumption and for communal events. Thus, wage work may be seen as additional to subsistence agriculture.

Niue lies some 300 miles east of Tonga, its nearest neighbor, and slightly more than 350 miles southeast of the Samoan islands. See map on page 157. This almost circular, raised-coral island consists of 100 square miles of very rocky land surrounded by precipitous cliffs and a very narrow fringed reef. The land is divided into two terraces. The first terrace, ninety feet above sea level, is only about a quarter of a mile wide, marked by many outcrops of limestone rocks and caves; most of the villages are located on this rim of the island. The second terrace covering the main part of the island slopes from 200 feet on its fringes to a 100 foot depres-

¹Douglas E. Yen, "Effects of Urbanization on Village Agriculture in Oceania," in Roland W. Force and Brenda Bishop, eds., *The Impact of Urban Centers in the Pacific* (Honolulu: Pacific Science Association, 1975), pp. 171-80.

sion at the center of the island. It is on this second terrace that all the shifting cultivation takes place. Silt and clay loam soils are found in small pockets between the numerous coral outcrops and have supported heavy stands of vegetation in the past, the remnants of which can be seen in the Huvalu forest area.² A considerable area of this primary vegetation has been cleared in the process of shifting cultivation which has been the basic means of economic support.

Land use patterns indicate that some 22 percent of the land has been worked out (Table 1) and agricultural personnel have looked at ways to bring this land back into production, but all are costly. When considering the area listed as in continuous cultivation (25,000 acres or 38.5 percent of the total area) it is not clear whether this includes export crops as listed in Table 2 (Annual Reports). Wright estimated a total area of 12,550 (7,300 acres for taro, etc. and 5,250 for coconuts) acres was necessary to raise subsistence and export crops in 1958, but Walsh argues this figure is too high as he feels Wright and Van Westendorp underestimated the intensity of subsistence production.³ The amount of land necessary for subsistence production is thus open for debate, but it would appear that it never exceeded 2,000 acres in any one year. Even taking Wright and Van

TABLE 1

Patterns of Land Use on Niue

	Acres
Continuous Cultivation	25,000
Worked out—scrub and fern	15,000
Coastal forest and scrub	3,000
Light forest	10,000
Heavy forest	12,000
TOTAL	65,000

Source: Reports on Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau Islands, Maori and Island Affairs Department, presented annually to New Zealand House of Representatives. These same area figures have been reported since 1953 without change.

²C. Wright and Van Westendorp, *Soils and Agriculture on Niue Island* (Wellington: Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, Bulletin 17, 1965).

³Allen C. Walsh, "Aspects of Subsistence Agriculture in Niue," *Compass*, 6 (n.d.), 1-7.

Westendorp's upper estimate, "the annual area actually under arable crops in any one season cannot amount to more than $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ acre per person."¹ Thus with a high population in 1959 of 4,719 persons, between 1,200 and 1,600 acres was being cropped in that year; but with a population of 3,843 in 1976 between 925 and 1,200 acres are being cropped a year for subsistence and coconuts.

It would thus appear that there is plenty of spare land available on Niue, especially if these are maximum figures as Walsh suggests. But much of the land not widely used is exceedingly rocky, difficult to use for the majority of subsistence crops and quite unsuitable for export crop production. There are less than 7,500 acres which are considered to be reasonably well suited for agricultural development.² Thus agricultural intensification is not possible as a means to cash income on Niue. They must seek cash elsewhere. But shifting cultivation remains the basis of subsistence.

Shifting cultivation now utilizes areas of secondary growth that have been fallow for ten years. An area is cleared for a bush garden by a family; a sequence of taros is planted for a couple of years before the land is

TABLE 2

Land Area by Crop

	Acres
Coconuts	5,000
Taro	350
Limes	42
Passionfruit	25
Yams	25
Siratro	1,500
Cassava	25
Bananas	275
Kumaras	100
TOTAL	7,387

Source: Annual Report for 1974

¹Wright and Van Westendorp, p. 69.

²Wright and Van Westendorp, p. 70.

left again for another ten years fallow. From these bush plots comes the bulk of the subsistence foods for all meals. Taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) is the main staple, while sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), yams (*Dioscorea alata*), and cassava (*Manihot esculenta*) are daily components of the diet. Some people have added tomatoes, spring onions and cabbage to their inventory of plants grown in their bush plots. A family is likely to have four or five bush plots in different stages of growth.

The work involved in clearing a bush plot, and preparing it for planting typically necessitates the involvement of all hands in a household. The men cut down any major secondary growth, while the women weed the pockets of soil and prepare a big earth oven full of food to feed the workers. Since the ground is so uneven and thus hard to walk on, cultivating bush plots is no easy task. The digging stick and the machete are the main tools employed and indeed are the most suited to Niue's environment. Because of the many areas which are so rocky attempts by the Agricultural advisors to introduce the plough have not met with much success; claims that "growers were changing rapidly from planting stick to modern tools and equipment" and that "Niueans are learning methods of permanent land cultivation"⁶ have never in fact been proven. As Walsh points out in his study of ploughed versus traditional areas, the differences in numerical yields, in terms of how crops were planted, were not significantly large enough to argue that plough agriculture provided an efficient margin in terms of profitability. Walsh argues strongly that traditional methods are more suited to Niuean conditions than ploughing which gives much lower yields in the second year, turns over the thin soils and hastens alkalinity, opens up larger areas denying taro its necessary shade cover and permits the fast encroachment of weeds in the rainy season. So it would seem that local knowledge has provided the most suitable subsistence method. Dreams by expatriates of introducing "modern rotational methods" (Annual Report 1962) have not come true. Traditional agriculture is alive and well in Niue and contributes significantly to basic food supply.

Agricultural development of Niue has also concentrated on attempts to develop an export crop. Copra, bananas, kumaras, passionfruit and siratro seeds, as well as honey have all been tried, but none has proven to be a satisfactory long-term source of cash income for the farmer/producer (see Table 3—produce exported over a sixty-year period). These crops are

⁶Wright and Van Westendorp.

TABLE 3
Major Items of Export from Niue

Year	Coconuts	Bananas	Kumaras	Passionfruit	Seed	% of Total Exports	Total Exports
1913	\$ 9,993	82.11%				82.11%	\$ 12,170
1923	10,979	83.				83.	13,227
1933	1,760	15.24				89.59	11,542
1943	8,543	27.79				58.41	30,733
1953	41,066	56.49				84.82	72,685
1963	18,652	36.44				64.65	51,185
1973	20,012	14.64				51.41	136,640
1974	41,000	24.4					168,000
1975	74,000	37.75					196,000
				\$31,198	22.83%		
				39,000	23.2		
				83,000	42.34		
					\$19,055	13.94%	

Source: Annual Report on Niue Island, *Pacific Islands Year Book*.

Note: No kumaras were grown for export in 1972. Resources were diverted to passionfruit and limes which were more promising export crops.

still planted (Table 2) but returns from export fluctuate and thus are not a reliable means by which a man can support his household.

Coconut trees are planted mainly around the periphery of the island. Coconuts are both exported as copra and used at home for drinking and in cooked dishes as well as bait for catching crabs and to feed pigs and chickens. Hurricanes, drought and drop in price of copra on the world market as well as shipping problems all reduce or annihilate the returns to the farmer.

Bananas are grown wherever the soil is considered suitable, sometimes near the house site, and sometimes in bush plots. Banana production on Niue has fluctuated wildly, a fact which can be correlated with copra prices and with the effort for return.

In 1958 in all a total of almost twenty-days' work (on banana production) was needed to earn the sum of £4.6s.3d. and the natural consequence is that amongst able-bodied men remaining on Niue, banana production as an occupation comes a poor fourth behind salaried work, casual laboring work and copra manufacturing. It should also be remembered that £4.6s.3d. is the equivalent of sixty-four pounds of dried copra which takes only a few days to prepare.⁷

Limes, passionfruit, and pandanus palm whose leaves are used extensively in the plaited ware for export are all planted in close proximity to the home. The passionfruit vines in particular require daily attention. The vines have to be hand-pollinated, mainly by women and children. Most Niuean families have a 1,000 square meter plot of vines near their homes and the cost of erecting poles and wires on which the vines grow is met by the Niue Development Board. The grower repays the installation cost over several seasons. Production figures for the three-year period prior to 1977 had been on the decline primarily because the women who normally work the industry had been working on the round-the-island electric power reticulation scheme.⁸

An assured cash return is safer than the fluctuating prices of agricultural produce! In 1977, however, the Development Board made an all-out

⁷Wright and Van Westendorp, p. 65.

⁸S. L. K. Guest, "There's a Blight on Niue's Passionfruit Industry," *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 48 (April, 1977), 60. See also "Niue: Sex and the Passionflower," *Pacific Islands Monthly*, 50 (January, 1979), 53-55.

effort to increase production to twice the area under cultivation. In 1978, eighty-six tons of pulp and juice were produced all of which was shipped to New Zealand.

There is no market for taro and other subsistence crops on Niue itself because every man is expected to provide these for his own household. They cannot be translated into cash income. Only kumara was a successful cash earner on the export market for a while, until it became plagued by a weevil infestation. Thus, because taro plays such an important part both in the production sphere and the consumption sphere it is not considered "right" for a Niuean to buy taros from others. This social sanction enforces a level of equality and is itself reinforced by village ethics of which the most potent leveller is gossip and shame. So that, every man must plant enough taros for his household consumption needs and for participation in the frequent community events. He must calculate his needs almost a year ahead of time so that he can clear the appropriate area of bush and plant the taros nine months before they will be needed. For an event of major importance to a family, such as a boy's hair cutting ceremony, he may seek the assistance of his brother and adult sons to extend their planting areas too in order to provide for the occasion. If a man miscalculates, and his family is short of taro, he is to blame and is the subject of local ridicule and is made to feel inadequate and brings shame to his wider family. Thus, there is great pressure at the village level for every man to have sufficient taros and a bit extra for his needs. Such a system obviates the need for a market. The small Friday market in Alofi consists of ladies selling a few bananas and kumaras, tomatoes or drinking coconuts mainly to Europeans and visitors. Niuean social structure emphasizes equality so that no Niuean should profit at the expense of another, particularly when such an important subsistence crop that everyone can grow is involved.

Wage work is thus the only possible source of a regular cash income and of access to the means to make life a little better. Cash is spent on particular food items, particularly canned corned beef and biscuits and snack foods for the children.⁹ But wage work is also the means to improving the house structure with windows, toilet and cooking facilities as well as for purchasing major goods such as a motor bike or car. As I have argued in my 1976 paper, these goods are an important means of regulating the differences in the way of life between Niue and Auckland and thus for

⁹Nancy J. Pollock, "Niue Resources and Their Uses," mimeographed paper.

providing an incentive to stay on Niue rather than migrate to New Zealand. If you can live on Niue and have your electric stove, electric iron and a car or motor bike to get you to the bush easily, then your relatives in Remuera don't seem so much better off!

The government is the major employer on the island, employing some 90 percent of all wage earners. Private companies such as Burns Philp and Morris Hedstrom and other smaller enterprises operate mainly in the retail sphere. The lack of skilled trained Niueans to fill every sector of the employment sphere has meant that many Niueans have been trained with assistance from New Zealand and other governments either in New Zealand, Fiji, Australia or the United States. This training is reflected in the gradual increase in the number of persons employed in public service jobs (Table 4). The main shortage in 1974 was of secondary school teachers. Thus, 344 Niueans were employed for regular wages out of a total estimated population of 4,142 (December 1973, Annual Report E.14 1974), and an additional 312 persons were listed as casual employees working mainly for Public Works on the roads and loading and off-loading ships.

Since 1966 the island population has fallen drastically as more and more Niueans leave for New Zealand. The population in 1966 was 5,065;

TABLE 4

Public Service Employment

Year	Niuean	Non-Niuean	Total	Casuals
1952	129	17	146	
1959	184	25	209	
1961	202	45	247	
1964	246	37	283	
1965	265	47	312	
1967	294	50	344	
1968	326	57	383	
1969	323	50	373	
1970	323	45	368	312
1972	262	43	300	339
1974	344	48	392	312

Source: Annual Reports to New Zealand House of Representatives.

for 1971, 4,990; and in 1976, 3,843. In 1976, 62 percent was under the age of fifteen and another 10 percent over the age of sixty, thus leaving some 1,077 (or 28 percent) persons potentially employable. These are the persons who manage to combine an eight-hour work day with their shifting agriculture or growing of an export crop. They are the persons who must clear their bush plot, weed it, and then plant taro either after work (at 4:30 p.m.) or on Saturdays. They have double the pressures but also double the need to maintain their participation in both sectors of the economy. The result is they must work harder, put in more effort, not less.

Wages earned average \$15.00 per week which would be far from adequate if a man had to buy all the food items plus other necessities for his family of six. Thus, he is obliged to maintain the subsistence sector, reinforced by kin and village mechanisms, and he can then utilize his money on non-local purchases such as beer, yard-goods and other material possessions. The wage economy is thus broadening the base of Niuean economy by increasing the demand for imported goods. But such a demand would be much higher if Niueans had lost the emphasis on subsistence agriculture and become dependent on rice, flour and other imported staples. The maintenance of traditional agriculture enables Niue to move into the modern wage economy and the concomitant materialism, but by combination not by substitution.

Conclusions

Niue's rocky environment limits the possibilities for agriculture. Taro is the most suited crop, but it too is narrowly adapted to its environment as shown by non-significant yield increases from plough cultivation (Walsh 1972). Thus, an important factor about taro as the main cultivated staple is that it takes a particular knowledge and a particular mode of propagation to get it to grow at all on Niue. If we assume that one level of their economic rationale includes the idea of least effort, but also includes assessing (probably unconsciously) the returns for labor involved in producing taro then it would appear that traditional methods win out over ploughing because the yield of the latter is not significantly larger to warrant the expense, inconvenience and dependence that a plough suggests. As Walsh says, "traditional practices, though time consuming and

onerous, appear to be highly successful in utilizing a wide range of local environments."¹⁰

Taro as a subsistence base to the economy enables Niue to avoid increasing its import economy. Therefore, subsistence production alongside wage labor is a fortunate base to the economy and avoids some of the economic polarizations of other developing economies. Positive encouragement for this combination of means of economic support is therefore needed. Also the number of wage jobs is fairly finite and, therefore, maintenance of the subsistence base has a stabilizing effect on the economy. The one possible disturbance might come from the introduction of mining which would upset both wage and subsistence work patterns.

Attempts to develop an export economy on Niue have floundered, largely because they have been instigated by well-meaning non-Niueans who fail to comprehend the many factors working against those products. Drought (1958), hurricanes (1959, 1960, 1968) and pestilence (affecting bananas, coconuts and kumara) are as unpredictable as war was in earlier times. Niueans have learned to cover themselves against such eventualities by cultivating several small plots, containing several different crops, in different areas of the island where protection may be sufficient to allow a few taros, yams or tapioca to survive. It may seem uneconomical in terms of a man's time and returns for the effort of clearing a plot measuring only one-eighth of an acre, but that plot may assure him the few root crops that he and his family need. Export crops seem synonymous with plantation-size clearing and sophisticated technology and/or heavy applications of fertilizer. All of these are costly, particularly when cash is not easy to come by. Niueans are prepared to gamble a little with their labor—Wright and Van Westendorp call it "energetic farming,"¹¹ but they cannot afford to throw away their cash, or watch a cash crop rot because no ship has arrived. They are prepared to put their effort where they see the best returns, a view not always shared by *palagis*. The Niuean environment has always been a harsh one, one that has no doubt left its imprint on the generations of Niueans who have attempted to maintain a livelihood there. Several early commentators¹² have noted that the comparatively industrious nature of Niueans might well be related to the continual struggle that was necessary to maintain food supplies. This in-

¹⁰Walsh, p. 5.

¹¹Wright and Van Westendorp, p. 56.

¹²Edwin M. Loeb, *History and Traditions of Niue* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1926).

dustriousness has also been noted of Niueans in New Zealand.¹³ Perhaps the continuing fight for survival has had long lasting effects by molding their physique and their character.¹⁴

Because Niue is a reasonably small island, it is possible for the people to maintain their village residence patterns while commuting daily by one of the many linking roads to Alofi where most of the wage work is located or based. The villages are placed fairly equidistant around the narrow first terrace surrounding the island thanks to missionary influence. By maintaining their village residence pattern and all that this has come to mean culturally, wage workers still have access to the larger areas of land around their villages so that shifting agriculture can continue to be practiced. With wages invested in a truck, car or bike some of the effort of shifting cultivation, i.e. managing several small plots, is minimized.

Continued out-migration, mainly to New Zealand, has relieved the direct pressure on the economy by siphoning off to another economic system those who would have needed their share of the land and possibly one of the limited jobs on Niue. But at the same time this out-migration has applied indirect pressure to the economy through the transfer of experienced workers to New Zealand. Incentives to obtain cash are thus more marked than if Niue was emerging straight from an agricultural background with minimal outside influences.

Egalitarianism is a mark of Niuean society which differentiates it from other Polynesian systems, particularly the three-rung stratification of Tonga and the *matiai* system of Samoa. Since the original settlers of Niue are reputed to have come from these two neighboring island groups we can argue that part of the adaptation to life on Niue required living without chiefs (apart from a reconstructed form at the time of Western contact). Their social organization was based directly and indirectly on the traditional system of land tenure under a *leveki mangafaoa* or family guardian, and a *patu* at the head of several family groups. These were people who re-allotted land or through whom disputes were arbitrated. But for the most part each family was fairly autonomous in producing its own crops and taking care of its individual needs. This has carried over into modern times when the family guardian makes sure that each member of his family has enough bush plots for his needs.

But he gets no tribute or cut from the proceeds of those plots as each

¹³Margaret Lee, *Nga Kaimahi: Polynesians in Industry* (Wellington: Vocational Training Council, 1974).

¹⁴Wright and Van Westendorp, p. 56.

Niuean male is expected to manage his own affairs. Thus, there is a considerable degree of autonomy as well as co-operation, but with out-migration and outside influences the Niuean social system has developed a resiliency stemming in part from its flexibility. Thus, a man is allowed to meet his obligations to family, village and Niue as a whole in various ways, but he must never forget to plant his taro. He must plan his work so that his obligations are met, both in the subsistence sphere and in the wage work sphere.

Department of Anthropology and Maori Studies
Victoria University, Wellington

THE TAHITIAN LANGUAGE: A HISTORICAL AND VERNACULAR CONTROVERSY

by William E. H. Tagupa

After a century of quasi-official repression of the Tahitian language, it finally emerged, through legislation passed in 1977, as a co-official language with French. Its history and present status perhaps provide insights and examples of routes other Polynesian languages may take.

The establishment of a standardized written form for Tahitian began in 1805 by Tahiti-based members of the London Missionary Society after several years of collecting words from European sources (navigators' lists, etc.) and from Tahitians themselves. Several meetings were held in March of that year to construct a Tahitian alphabet into "... some uniform mode in order to teach the natives ...".¹ It is apparent that much dispute arose in the course of such meetings, primarily over the fact that individual members had been utilizing their own methods of spelling, and that a change to the newly proposed method would be both difficult and confusing. In the end, however, "... the minority for peace sake gave up the dispute and agreed with the majority."²

Both Henry Nott and John Davies, the senior members of the Tahitian mission, assumed the primary responsibility for gathering words and developing a standardized orthography for the printing of books in Tahitian. In 1807, a manuscript was completed and a request was sent to the Society directors in London for its printing. It was not until 1810 that 700 copies of an edition entitled *Te Aebi no Taheiti* (the Tahitian Alphabet) of forty-seven pages was printed in London. The mistakes contained in the text and the long delay in the printing convinced the missionaries that it would be more advantageous to erect a printing press in the islands to facilitate more accurate editions of future texts. In February of 1817, William Ellis arrived in Tahiti with the much awaited press. By May, a printing office was completed at Afareaitu, Mo'orea; and in June, the first printing press in the South Pacific began printing 2,592 copies of the

¹John Davies, *History of the Tahitian Mission, 1799-1830*, ed. C. W. Newbury (London: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 77. See also William Ellis, *History of the London Missionary Society* (London: J. Snow, 1844), I, 172-76.

²Davies, p. 78.

spelling book. Eventually, catechisms and hymnals were printed, followed by such important works as *Te Evanelia na Luka* (the Gospel of Luke, 1818) and the first codified laws for the islands, the Pomare Code of 1819.

Perhaps one of the most ambitious of the missionaries in the study of the Tahitian language was John M. Orsmond (1788–1856). It appears that Orsmond considered personal competence in the language to be indispensable to the greater task of Christian proselytism. He envied Nott's acknowledged skill in Tahitian; and during the initial years of his ministry, Orsmond spent "... the greatest part of the day going from house to house collecting words from the natives."³ Eventually, Orsmond became fluent in Tahitian and at one time unabashedly wrote, "I value my native tongue [Tahitian] as I value my life. What is a missionary without it?"⁴ In 1837, Orsmond suggested to the LMS that a Tahitian-English lexicon be prepared. Orsmond believed that the content of the aboriginal language had changed in the twenty years he had resided in Tahiti, largely because of the increased influence of English-speaking foreigners. Orsmond also believed that a standardized reference was needed before the aboriginal character of Tahitian was lost.⁵ Eventually, Davies, with help from both Nott and Orsmond, finished a *Tahitian and English Dictionary* (314 pages) which was published by the LMS in 1851. The culmination of the literary effort of the missionaries was the translation of a good portion of the New Testament in 1837.⁶ (The four Gospels and Acts of the Gospels, printed in London in 132 pages.)

The establishment of the French protectorate over Tahiti in 1842 brought new changes in the evangelical effort. Anglo-French rivalry extended to the district schools where political restraint was exercised concerning matters of public education.

From the beginning of the protectorate, the administration struggled with the dilemma that district schools were deeply influenced by the LMS but the teaching of French could not be ex-

³Orsmond had been instructed by the Society directors to make a concerted effort to learn Tahitian under Davies who proved to be a more cooperative teacher than Nott. Orsmond's journal entry 12 October 1817, London Missionary Society archives, South Seas Journals (hereafter cited as SSJ), housed at the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies and now available on microfilm from Esselite Video, Inc., New York. See also Henry to Directors, 1 July 1817, LMS South Seas Letters (hereinafter cited as SSL).

⁴Orsmond's journal 29 October 1824 to 13 January 1825, SSJ.

⁵Orsmond's journal 17 November 1837–1839, SSJ.

⁶Numerous mistakes were discovered in the Nott manuscript. Consequently, several revisions had to be made by Orsmond, much to his own displeasure. Orsmond to Bennet, 19 August 1841, SSL.

panded while Roman Catholic missionaries were few and not well received on the whole by the population.⁷

Governor Armand-Joseph Bruat (1843–46), constantly confronted with Tahitian and missionary resistance, permitted the LMS to continue printing mission literature even though French law authorized him to do otherwise.⁸ This rather generous act on the part of Bruat permitted the continued publication of missionary literature and also facilitated the continued revision and correction of Biblical texts, thereby improving and perfecting the main sources of traditional and unadulterated Tahitian.

The French administration, however, was determined to exorcise the Anglo-Protestant influence in the islands and to replace it with a distinctly French and preferably Catholic orientation. Instruction in the French language was seen as one effective means of doing so. The Catholic missionary effort to establish church schools (*écoles libres*) was begun in 1857 by the Sisters of Cluny; this attempt lasted only three years, however. In 1860, four members of the Brothers of Plöemel arrived in Tahiti. Brother Alpert Ropert and his colleagues, with the approval of Governor Gaultier de la Richerie, opened a school. Brother Alpert became quite disillusioned, however, at the failure of many students to master even the rudimentary aspects of French.

... 84 students, 10 of which only know how to read a little ... the others know nothing, not even a word of French ... The Tahitians have such a distaste for the French that even those who can understand it a little will not speak it. A *canaque* never speaks French. In the twenty years that I have been here it is as if I had arrived today.⁹

In 1860, an ordinance was passed which made instruction in French "... obligatory in the schools of the states of the Protectorate to the same degree as that of Tahitian."¹⁰ A *brevet* (certificate) was established in or-

⁷Colin W. Newbury, "The Administration of French Oceania, 1842–1906," Diss. Australian National University 1956, p. 134.

⁸Bruat to LMS, 9 January 1843, SSL.

⁹Henri-Charles Rulon, *Les Frères de l'instruction Chrétienne en Polynésie Française, 1860–1960* (Pape'ete: *Ecoles de Frères*, 1960), p. 18. Henri-Charles Rulon, "Les Premiers Temps de l'Instruction Publique en Pape'ete: Le gouverneur de la Richerie et l'Etablissements de l'Ecole de Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 16 (1960), 20–22.

¹⁰A. C. E. Caillot, *Histoire de la Polynésie Orientale* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), p. 478.

der to enforce this new law which stated that prospective teachers had to demonstrate a satisfactory knowledge of French in order to qualify for positions in public education.

In 1866, in a large part due to a petition drafted by the Protestant members of the Legislative Assembly, Charles Viénot, a member of the Protestant *Société des Missions Évangéliques de Paris*, arrived in the islands. Within a few months he established a school called *Ecole Française-Indigène*, in Pape'ete, Papeno'o, and Mataiea.¹¹ Viénot realized that the schools could not successfully substitute French entirely for the Tahitian language.¹² Although the French administration did not have an official policy directly concerning the Tahitian language, Viénot realized that a certain elite of Tahitian society had to gain competency in French in order to meet the challenging demands of an encroaching modern society that paid little heed to a provincial Polynesian vernacular.¹³ At the same time, he also perceived that the Tahitians must adhere to their cultural identity through the meaningful retention of their maternal tongue. Subsequently, Viénot instituted a policy whereby classroom instruction was conducted in French and religious instruction was taught in Tahitian. In this latter endeavor, Viénot relied almost entirely on the Tahitian Bible.

An added impetus to the French Protestant effort in Tahiti was the arrival in 1867 of Frédéric Vernier, also a member of the *Société des Missions Évangéliques*. Vernier was confronted with the same problem in the French-Tahitian controversy which Viénot had faced.

The missionary is . . . placed between two dilemmas. The European who wishes to teach French to all the natives for their own sake, and the native himself, who sees that all good things belong to those who know French. This latter person responds to you in French because of his embarrassment of his maternal tongue.¹⁴

¹¹The petition read in part: "We very much wish that our children learn French, but we do not want them to change their religion while they are doing so." Jacques Pannier and Gustave Mondian, *L'expansion française outre-mer et les Protestants français* (Paris: Société des missions évangéliques, 1931), p. 107.

¹²Charles Vernier, *Tahitiens d'hier et aujourd'hui* (Paris: Société des Missions évangéliques, 1934), p. 254-55.

¹³Official policy emphasized that "the study of French shall be made a necessary part of the instructional program." In addition, "the usage of any other language other than French is forbidden to pupils, even during recreation periods." Louis J. Langomazino, *Consolidation des actes du gouvernement en Tahiti* . . . (Pape'ete: Impr. du gouvernement, 1867), pp. 140 and 144.

¹⁴Vernier, p. 255.

Vernier quickly mastered Tahitian and eventually published an elementary *cahier*, the *Ecolier-Tahitien*, for use by his students. Undoubtedly Vernier was aided in his task by acquiring large amounts of old LMS publications.¹⁵

One of Vernier's sons, Charles, carried on his father's work. After spending eleven years at Ra'iatea, Charles Vernier returned to Pape'ete in 1923. It appears that at this time Charles Vernier intended to devote himself seriously to the improvement of Tahitian instruction, largely because he felt that the young Tahitians were in danger of losing a meaningful understanding of their aboriginal tongue.

The instruction of French, with all the avenues which it opened to the evolved youth in quest of gainful employment in administration or commerce, appears to have detoured the government in the instruction of the classical elements of Tahitian in the public schools, as if they had resolved themselves to accept the alteration, if not the disappearance . . . of the language.¹⁶

With the help of another colleague, Alexandre Drollet, Vernier presented to Governor Louis-Joseph Bogue a proposal to write an elementary grammar for use in the government schools. With support from Bogue, the grammar, *Grammaire de la Langue Tahitienne* [Paris: Missions Evangéliques, 1934, 59 pages.], was completed and published in 1934. In 1946, after serving a year as the territory's first Deputy to the National Assembly, Vernier took a chair reserved for the Polynesian language in the *Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientale Vivantes*.

In 1967, John Teariki, then the territorial Deputy and director of the pro-autonomy party, *Te Pupu Here Ai'a Te Nuna'a ia Ora* (the Patriotic Party for an Autonomous Polity), initiated a proposal to Governor Jean Sicurani to have the Government Council abrogate the decree of 11 December 1932 which required that all non-official language publications be submitted to the Governor for approval.¹⁷ Teariki contended that this archaic decree made Tahitian a *de facto* foreign language since French was the *only* official language of the territory. Teariki's proposal had been

¹⁵Vernier to Thompson, 18 January 1893, SSL.

¹⁶Charles Vernier, "Les variations de vocabulaire tahitien avant et après le contacts européens," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 4 (December, 1948), 20.

¹⁷*Journal Officiel des Etablissements Française de l'Océanie*, 16 February 1933. This decree, the subject of later controversy, may have been prompted by the circulation of underground Vietnamese (Viet Minh) newspapers in Tahiti. See *Journal Officiel des Etablissements Française de l'Océanie*, 1 November 1932.

precipitated by his party's decision to publish the party organ, *Te Here Ai'a* (The Beloved Land), in Tahitian. According to autonomist party members, Sicurani had invoked the 1932 decree as a means of political harassment.¹⁸

On 11 April 1967, Sicurani replied to Teariki's request stating that the Government Council did not think it possible to act on his proposal. Teariki then submitted a proposal to the Territorial Assembly's interim body, the Permanent Commission, suggesting that "... the Government of the Republic refer itself to the Declaration of the Rights of Man of 1789, the Constitution of the French Republic of October 4, 1958, ... to abrogate ... a vestige of the past ... and render Tahitian ... on an equal footing with the National Language."¹⁹ The Permanent Commission unanimously adopted Teariki's proposal and on 29 May the Territorial Assembly did likewise. In late August, Sicurani informed Teariki that although the Government Council did not oppose the publication of the Tahitian language version of the party organ, translations would still have to be submitted in accordance with the 1932 decree.²⁰ Even though he did not succeed entirely in his attempt, Teariki was somewhat satisfied with his minor victory.

Teariki's action stimulated more serious consideration of the present status of Tahitian in the socio-cultural context of the territory and its future role in education, commerce, and communication. One response to this rather obvious problem was a proposal for the establishment of an *Académie Tahitienne* or *Fare Vana'a* (House of Traditional Discourse), which like its French counterpart would be composed of a group of individuals competent in Tahitian.²¹ The formal proposal was submitted by Jean "Yannick" Amaru, Territorial Assemblyman and member of *Te Pupu Here Ai'a*, to the Territorial Assembly in August 1972.

In presenting the proposal, Amaru reminded the Assembly that it had adopted a proposal by Assemblyman Gaston Flosse which had made the teaching of Tahitian mandatory in the primary grades of the public schools and had provided that examinations on the Tahitian language be

¹⁸*Assemblée Territoriale de la Polynésie française, 1^{ère} session administrative extraordinaire de 1972, 4^{ème} séance*, 3 August 1972, p. 1644. *Te Here Ai'a*, 25 April 1967, pp. 1-3.

¹⁹*Assemblée Territoriale* . . . , p. 1643. *Te Here Ai'a*, 25 April 1967, p. 3.

²⁰*Te Here Ai'a*, 5 September 1967, pp. 1-2.

²¹*Assemblée Territoriale* . . . , p. 1644. *Te Here Ai'a*, 16-23 July 1968, p. 4. for a comprehensive discussion of the *Académie Tahitienne*, see Hubert Coppenrath, "L'académie tahitienne," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 31 (September, 1975), 284-300.

made optional.²² Amaru also indicated that Deputies Francis Sanford and Rock Pidjot of French Polynesia and New Caledonia respectively had introduced a proposition to the National Assembly on 14 December 1971 concerning the teaching of vernacular languages in the Overseas Territories.

The Territorial Assembly proceedings centered upon the nature, purposes, and composition of the *Académie*. An explicit statement of the primary objectives of the proposed cultural institution was considered urgent. Article 6 of the *Académie* statutes defined the organization's purposes as:

... to fix the language by uniforming vocabulary and grammar.

... to favor the publication of works printed in the Tahitian language and the translation into Tahitian of the masterpieces of the world's literatures.

... to encourage the publication of works in Tahitian treating questions of interest to Polynesia.

... to make the Tahitian language a tool of research for all those interested in ethnology, archaeology, history and ... all aspects of science concerning the Pacific.

... to promote the instruction of the Tahitian language in the school.²³

The institution would be composed of twenty members who have the "best knowledge of the Tahitian language, with no distinction as to nationality, but having sufficient knowledge of French ..."²⁴ The *Académie* would be administered by a director and a chancellor, both of whom would be chosen by majority vote of the *Académie* members. The members themselves would be nominated by the Governor and the Government Council and would be subject to the approval of the Territorial Assembly. The funding of the *Académie* would be through the Commission of Financial, Economic, and Social Affairs.

²²*Assemblée Territoriale ... , Session Ordinaire Budgétaire de 1971-72, 7ème séance, December, 1971, p. 3032.*

²³*Assemblée Territoriale ... , 4ème séance, p. 1670. Coppenrath, pp. 294-95.*

²⁴*Assemblée Territoriale ... , 4ème séance, p. 1660.*

The *Académie Tahitienne* is the culmination of years of endeavor and concern to rejuvenate the Tahitian language, an issue which at times has led to conflict between metropolitan and local officials.²⁵ In retrospect, it appears that renewed interest in the Tahitian language is directly related to the historical controversy over the status of indigenous languages and so-called international languages. In a South Pacific Commission technical paper, G. J. Platten states the argument for the use of an "international language."

... it is the consensus of opinion that all native languages have too limited a currency, are unequal to the demands of a wider modern contact and the higher education of progressive native peoples. It is generally believed that only an international language can meet these demands.²⁶

This argument has been echoed by those in French Polynesia who are not especially enthusiastic about introducing Tahitian as a *means* of instruction.

On the other hand, certain problems arise in the learning process when the medium of instruction is a secondary language.

The language question is clearly of key importance. It has been widely discussed ... but hardly investigated adequately. Proponents of education in the vernacular claim that only in this way can learning be made real ... the child who enters school to find its proceedings in an unknown tongue quickly forgets after leaving school what little of it he has mastered; or if he has learned it extensively, despises his own tongue and lets his cultural tradition lapse.²⁷

²⁵In one dramatic confrontation, Tahitian nationalist, Pouvanaa a Oopa addressed the October 1972 opening of the Territorial Assembly in Tahitian. He was immediately challenged by Governor Pierre Angeli who protested the use of a language he did not understand and intimated that Pouvanaa was not legally qualified to hold his seat in the Assembly if he could not speak French. *La Dépêche de Tahiti*, 6 October 1972. The controversial address and colloquy are reproduced in full in the Assembly proceedings, *Assemblée Territoriale ... Session Budgétaire Ordinaire de 1972, séance d'ouverture*, 5 October 1972, pp. 1885-91.

²⁶G. J. Platten, "The Use of the Vernacular in Teaching in the South Pacific," Technical Paper 44 (June 1953), South Pacific Commission, p. 14.

²⁷Marie Keesing, "Education in Polynesia," *Specialized Studies in Polynesian Anthropology* (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 193, 1947), p. 52.

It must be emphasized, however, that the primary concern of those advocating a more meaningful study of Tahitian in the schools is the link the language has to Tahitian cultural identity. Robert I. Levy, a psychological anthropologist, observed that the "Tahitian language is a part of Tahitian culture and involves much of the pride of being Tahitian."²⁸ Yves Lemaitre, researcher for the *Office de Recherche Scientifique et Technique d'Outre-Mer* (ORSTOM), also affirms that much of traditional Tahitian culture is invariably contained in the traditional language, particularly nomenclature concerning Polynesian flora and sea life.²⁹

The current central issue of the vernacular controversy concerns the introduction of Tahitian into the public educational system as a subject of meaningful study and the extent to which such instruction will satisfy the needs and desires of the population, much of which is both ethnically and culturally diverse. One of the most cogent arguments in support of the use and study of Tahitian is that the use of Tahitian in the elementary schools would better facilitate a child's transition to the school environment from the household *milieu*, where Tahitian is the primary language.³⁰ It is, therefore, not surprising that parents, even those of Tahitian background, converse with their children in French in order that their children may have a better chance of academic success.³¹

Levy, an advocate of bilingualism, favors the formal teaching of Tahitian in the schools, basing his opinion primarily on socio-cultural factors.

The greatly different demographic situation at present in French Polynesia makes it seem unlikely that Tahitian will soon disappear as a primary language . . . or in its use as a *lingua franca*, along with French, for the inhabitants of the other island groups. However, certain classes of the Tahitian population, particularly the urban . . . people of the island, are losing a good deal of their competency and fluency in Tahitian.³²

²⁸Robert I. Levy, "Teaching of the Tahitian Language in the Schools of French Polynesia, *Journal de la Société des Océanistes*, 8 (December, 1972), 80.

²⁹Yves Lemaitre, "Essai sur la langue tahitienne," *La Dépêche de Tahiti*, 21 April 1973. See also Yves Lemaitre, "Social Life and the Promotion of Polynesian Languages," presented at the *Colloque des Langues Polynésiennes*, 4-9 December 1978, Pape'ete.

³⁰"Le scandale d'enseignement en polynésie. Les Polynésiens condamnés au certificat," *Le Journal de Tahiti*, 29 June 1972. The problem of underachievement of Polynesian students in the school systems has been a long-standing issue which can be attributed in part to the strict use of French as the language of instruction.

³¹Levy, p. 79. Henri Lavondès, "Problèmes socio-linguistiques et alphabétisation en polynésie," *Cahier ORSTOM* (1972), p. 79.

³²Levy, p. 79.

Levy surmises that this circumstance "... has the beginnings of an unfortunate situation in which a developing indigenous elite is losing the competency in the traditional national idiom required to communicate with the mass of people, and the potentialities for misunderstanding and distrust which this involves."³³

Lemaître claims that about 80,000 of the territory's population (1973) of approximately 100,000 speak Tahitian and that approximately thirty-five percent of those who speak Tahitian are bilingual.³⁴ Current estimates confirm the high degree of bilingualism among the French Polynesians, though the degree of fluency in percentage terms are generally speculative. Bilingualism, however, appears to be more characteristic of the *demi-tahitiens*³⁵ who are for the most part concentrated in the urban and suburban zones of the islands. While it is true that Pape'ete and environs have the largest and most concentrated population of primary speakers of French, the rural and outer island districts are overwhelmingly inhabited by primary speakers of Tahitian or other Polynesian languages.³⁶

The above figures lend some credence to Professor Levy's estimation of socio-linguistic alienation among the Tahitian-speaking populace. They also confirm the basis of his recommendation for an educational emphasis on bilingualism. Since metropolitan government subsidies to the public schools are contingent upon whether such schools teach French as both a *means* and a *subject* of instruction, the Tahitian language programs are dependent to a large extent upon metropolitan acceptance of these innovative proposals. Based on past response, such acceptance is at best passive. Present rules and regulations concerning metropolitan civil service

³³Levy, p. 79.

³⁴Lemaître, "Essai..."

³⁵The *demi-tahitien* (or 'afa popa'a) are the Euro-Polynesians who have in part adopted European mannerisms and French as the language of the household, though most are bilingually competent. See Ben R. Finney, *Polynesian Peasants and Proletarians* (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1973), pp. 22-23. Robert I. Levy, *Tahitians: Mind and Experience in the Society Islands* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 86-87. Significantly, the *demi-tahitien* has been in the forefront of Tahitian linguistic nationalism.

³⁶*Resultats Statistiques de Recensement Général de la Population de la Polynésie française* (Paris: Institut National de la Statistique et Etudes Economique, 9 November 1962), pp. 142-45. "Recensement de Familles Catholiques," *Evêque de Papeete, Bureau d'Etudes Statistiques, Service du Plan* (1971), p. 77. It must be mentioned that the Mormon Church has continually stressed the use of the Tahitian vernacular as the language of instruction by its mission elders, many of whom are American. As such, the Mormon Church has advanced the use and study of Tahitian (as well as English) in a manner originally contemplated by the LMS.

employment require and demand competency in French, which by its own terms would tend to exclude many Tahitians on linguistic grounds.

One of the latest developments to curb such obvious inequities was passage of legislation by the local Government Council making Tahitian the co-official language of the territory.³⁷ Such a remarkable development was due to a large extent by the efforts of Francis Sanford, a Government Council member and Deputy. Sanford's primary concern was to make the acts and proceedings of local agencies more comprehensible to the electorate, while at the same time emphasizing the cultural significance of Tahitian in a more meaningful way.³⁸ While Sanford's proposal was supported by the opposition party, *Tahoera'a Huira'atira*, some misgivings were expressed concerning the status of the non-Tahitian-speaking constituencies in the Marquesas and Austral islands.³⁹

Shortly following such a significant development, a five-day *Colloques des Langues Polynésiennes* was sponsored by the Territorial Assembly and the *Académie Tahitienne*. Several important policy papers were presented by educators, linguists and communication specialists concerning future plans and prospects for Tahitian in public education. One commentator remarked that the introduction of the Tahitian language on local television was acquired "after long years of patience," though much was desired in terms of broader use of the native language in the communication industry.⁴⁰ *Académie* official Paul J. C. Prévost commented favorably on the Government Council's action and noted that much needed to be done in developing a more comprehensive Tahitian lexicon of modern and technical terms.⁴¹ The papers and proceedings of the colloquium evidence widespread optimism in retrieving the historical and cultural importance of Tahitian and other Polynesian languages. It appears, however, that much needs to be done in training competent teachers to implement these new-founded innovations. Many school teachers, through no fault of their

³⁷*Journal de Tahiti*, 30 November 1978. This gesture was made legally permissible under article 72 (*Loi Numéro 77-772*), *Journal Officiel de la Polynésie Française*, 18 July 1977 See Note 17.

³⁸*Journal de Tahiti*, 30 November 1978.

³⁹*La Dépêche de Tahiti*, 6 December 1978. *Journal de Tahiti*, 6 December 1978.

⁴⁰John Martin, "The Use of Mass Media for the Preservation and Promotion of Polynesian Languages," presented at the *Colloque des Langues Polynésiennes*, 4-9 December 1978, Pape'ete.

⁴¹*Journal de Tahiti*, 1 December 1978. See also Paul J. C. Prevost, "L'expansion de la zone d'influence de la langue tahitienne," *Journal de La Société des Océanistes*, 26 (September, 1970), 256-60.

own, do not possess the necessary knowledge and linguistic skills in teaching Tahitian, which is compounded by the fact that no suitable or comprehensive Tahitian dictionary and grammar are currently available!¹² There has been, however, great interest on the part of many students in the study of their aboriginal language, particularly in a cultural context.

The primary objective of those concerned with the language controversy has been with the recognition of vernacular languages on the same level with metropolitan counterparts. Admittedly, problems concerning adaptability of both vernacular and metropolitan languages present particular problems, recent developments in French Polynesia indicate that a reversal of the increasing decline in the proper use of aboriginal languages is being contemplated.

History Department
University of Hawaii

¹²*Journal de Tahiti*, 2 December 1978. There exists, however, the *Lexique du Tahitien Contemporain* by Yves Lemaître (Pape'ete: ORSTOM, 1976), and the *Manuel de Tahitien Moderne* by Paul Prevost (Pape'ete: Metagraph, 1976).

THE ROLE OF THE ETHNOGRAPHER
IN SHAPING ATTITUDES TOWARD ANTHROPOLOGISTS:
A CASE IN POINT

by Richard Feinberg

I: *Who are you?*

CUOL: *A man.*

I: *What is your name?*

CUOL: *Do you want to know my name?*

I: *Yes.*

CUOL: *You want to know my name?*

I: *Yes, you have come to visit me in my tent and I would like to know who you are.*

CUOL: *All right. I am Cuol. What is your name?*

I: *My name is Pritchard.*

CUOL: *What is your father's name?*

I: *My father's name is also Pritchard.*

CUOL: *No, that cannot be true. You cannot have the same name as your father.*

I: *It is the name of my lineage. What is the name of your lineage?*

CUOL: *Do you want to know the name of my lineage?*

I: *Yes.*

CUOL: *What will you do with it if I tell you? Will you take it to your country?*

I: *I don't want to do anything with it. I just want to know it since I am living at your camp.*

CUOL: *Oh well, we are Lou.*

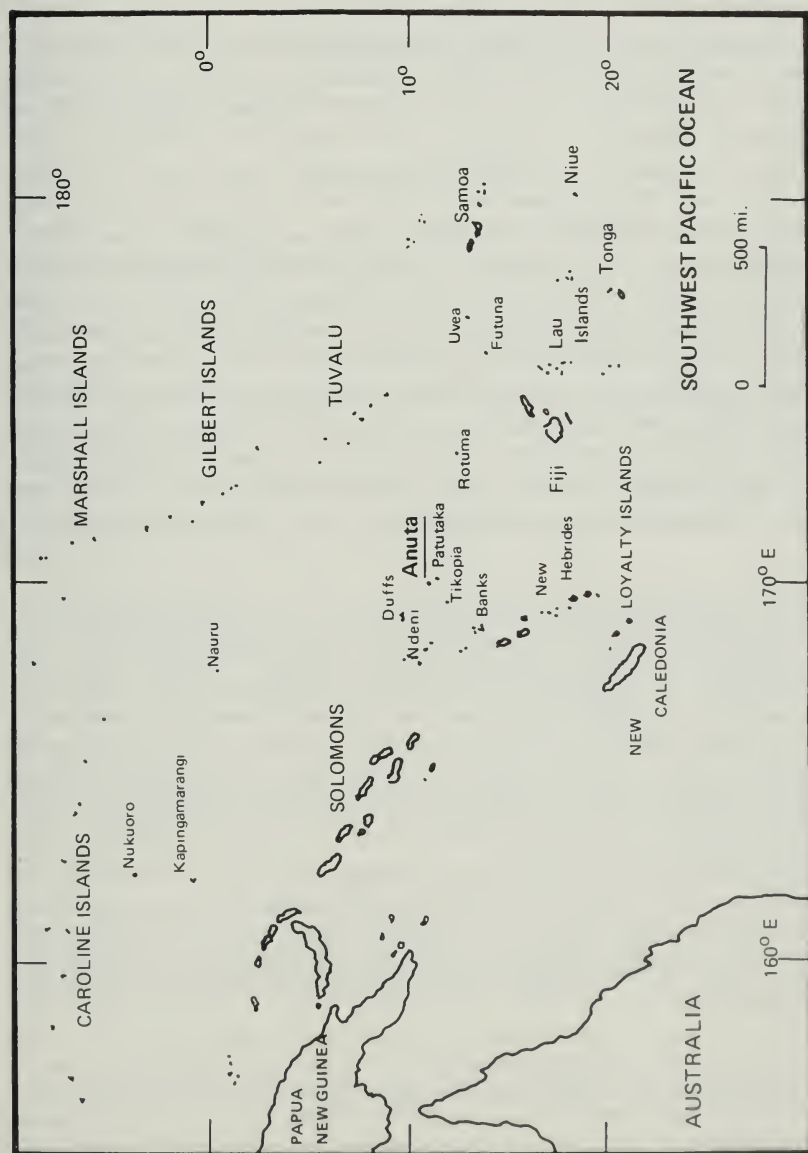
I: *I did not ask you the name of your tribe. I know that. I am asking you the name of your lineage.*

CUOL: *Why do you want to know the name of my lineage?*

I: *I don't want to know it.*

CUOL: *Then why do you ask me for it? Give me some tobacco.*

Encounters such as the above, which helped drive Evans-Pritchard to his "neurosis" are commonly experienced by anthropologists engaged in



field research.¹ Indigenous peoples are often suspicious of inquisitive outsiders, sometimes for good reason, and are frequently reluctant to provide the anthropologist with data he is seeking. In his monograph, *Behind Many Masks*, Berreman has described at length his many months of tribulation as he attempted to obtain the confidence of residents of a Pahari village in the Himalayas.² Even such a generally admired field worker as Malinowski attested in his diary to the occasional reluctance of his Trobriand informants to confide in him,³ and his experiences have been shared by most ethnographers even in the best of circumstances. In cases where someone identified as belonging to the same group as the anthropologist (this may be a missionary, trader, colonial administrator, tourist, or a previous ethnographer) has acted in a manner which the local people find offensive, the task of establishing rapport sufficient for the conduct of efficient research may become nearly impossible.⁴ This situation has been decried repeatedly by anthropologists, and the question of responsibility to one's informants has become a major issue for discussion.⁵ Even with the best intentions sometimes we unwittingly exacerbate disputes, promote the growth of factions, and antagonize informants by what we write.⁶ In the midst of our self-criticism, however, often we lose sight of

¹E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 12-13.

²Gerald D. Berreman, *Behind Many Masks* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962).

³This is evidenced in comments such as: "The old man began to lie about burials. I became enraged. . . . With great effort I wormed out of him material relating to kinship. . . . I was fed up with the niggers and with my work." Quoted from Bronislaw Malinowski, *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967), pp. 35, 66, and 154. Under conditions of physical discomfort, pressure, isolation, and frustration, of course, sometimes one makes statements that he later might regret. Nonetheless, it is apparent that Malinowski's relations with his informants were not always so harmonious as some of his writings might lead us to believe.

⁴This point is made emphatically by Margaret Mead. She notes in her autobiography that, "many a young field worker has known heartbreak in those first weeks. He has been made to feel so miserable, so unwelcomed, and so maligned—perhaps in terms of another anthropologist who got everyone's back up—that his whole field trip is ruined before he has really got under way." See Margaret Mead, *Blackberry Winter* (New York: William Morrow, 1972), p. 146.

⁵This may be seen in textbook chapters, journal articles, workshops, and symposia dealing with the problem of field ethics, which have become common in the past several years.

⁶A recent illustration with respect to a Pacific community is Torben Monberg's discussion of his book on oral traditions of Rennell and Bellona, a pair of Polynesian outliers in the central Solomon Islands, and its unintended consequences. Toren Monberg, "Informants Fire Back: A Micro-study in Anthropological Method," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 84 (1975), 218-24.

the congenial relations some field workers have established with the people they have studied and the role that these relationships have played in facilitating further research. In the following pages I discuss the work of Raymond Firth on Tikopia and how this served to expedite my research on Anuta, Tikopia's nearest neighbor, some forty-four years after his first venture in the field.

Firth and the Tikopia

Firth was on Tikopia for a year in 1928 and 1929, at a time when half the island's population, including three of the four chiefs, were still practicing the traditional religion. He was greeted warmly by the Tikopians and welcomed into their community, but although people were prepared to tell him of their social organization, for many months their ritual procedures and religious beliefs remained a closely guarded secret. In fact, during his first weeks on the island, the Tikopians were conducting a lengthy, elaborate ritual cycle called the Work-of-the-Gods which Firth has described as "the crowning point of their social life."⁷ Yet, it was many months before he was permitted to become cognizant of what had been taking place practically before his very eyes.

Firth spent his first months on the island becoming fluent in the language and learning what he could of Tikopian culture, continually taking pains to let informants know that he approved of what he learned and attempting to abide as well as possible by local etiquette. The presence of a European who spoke favorably of the old religion was particularly gratifying to the pagans,⁸ who were under constant criticism by the local population on the grounds that they were evil, backward, unsophisticated, and were threatening the welfare and prosperity of the community. Gradually, the Tikopian pagans were convinced that Firth respected their beliefs and would not use any esoteric knowledge that he gained against them. After some months the Ariki Kafika, the premier chief, began to treat him as a confidant, and eventually he was permitted to take part in religious ceremonies, including the elaborate Work-of-the-Gods rituals. Then, once he was accepted by the senior chief as someone who com-

⁷ Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia: Kinship in Primitive Polynesia* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), p. xvii.

⁸ By "pagan" I mean to indicate simply an adherent to a form of worship and belief that falls outside the bounds of the major world religions. No perjorative connotations, whatsoever, are intended.

manded trust, this served as a signal for other Tikopians to confide in him as well.

This, of course, was not a unilinear progression. Shortly after the Ariki Kafika began to tell Firth of the ancient gods and worship practices, the anthropologist became severely ill. The general consensus was that the chief had second thoughts after having divulged important secrets, and in order to undo the damage he had imposed a deadly curse. When Firth finally recovered, common knowledge had it that the chief, for fear that he would be held responsible should a European meet death on his island, had recinded the initial invocation. Even so, the *ariki* stated, "Friend, I have told you the secrets of my kava; my *ora* (life) and that of my people and this land Tikopia will go with you. I shall sit here and watch; if evil comes to this land then I shall know that it is through your doing."⁹ Fortunately for everyone, no evil did befall.

Throughout his career, Firth has attempted to be worthy of the trust the Tikopians placed in him. He has not tried to hide the sources of occasional annoyance, which it seems one never can escape, but the tenor of his commentary—both oral and in writing, and both on and off the island—always has been sympathetic. A paragraph from Chapter I of *We, the Tikopia* tell us much of Firth's relationship with his informants. He notes:

What I have set down in this book, and what will appear in subsequent publications I have tried to make an exact and scientific record, keeping back nothing that I have learned, and documenting opinions in order that as accurate an estimate as possible may be formed of the institutions and ways of life of these people. Much that was told to me, especially in matters of religion, was given in confidence on the understanding that it would be made known only to *tangata poto*, to adepts, to persons of wisdom. I publish it in the belief that this is being done. Should there be among the readers of this book any who may visit Tikopia, in a professional capacity or otherwise, I trust that the knowledge they may gain from it may give them an understanding and a respect for the native custom and belief, and that nothing which they find herein will be used to the discomfiture of the people or as a lever to disturb their mode of life, whatever be the motive. If this is observed I will have made no breach of faith.¹⁰

⁹Firth, *We, the Tikopia*, p. 9.

¹⁰Firth, *We, the Tikopia*, pp. 9–10.

The Tikopians, it seems, concurred in this evaluation, and far from a breach of faith, they have considered Firth's writings to be a credit both to him and to themselves.

In addition to his writings, Firth has made concerted efforts to retain close contacts with the people of the island. He has been a major contributor to the Tikopia Development Fund, has kept up correspondence with many of his informants, and has demonstrated continued interest through subsequent field studies in 1952 and 1965 on Tikopia, and in 1973 with Tikopians residing elsewhere in the Solomons. In all, he made a lasting and most favorable impression. During my fourteen months of field research I had the opportunity to speak at length with many (perhaps several dozen) Tikopians. In many of those conversations Firth was mentioned. Everyone spoke highly of him as a man and of his work. In addition, I was fortunate to be in Honiara, the Solomons' capital, during Firth's most recent field trip. We spent several days together in the company of Tikopians and Anutans, and the mutual respect between the anthropologist and his informant-friends was obvious, as was the fact that each enjoyed quite thoroughly the other's company.

Anutan Reactions

When I landed on Anuta in March 1972, I was greeted with enthusiasm. I was taken into the household of the senior chief who provided for my clothing, food, and shelter. (In return I was expected to help out with trade goods, money, and occasional labor.)¹¹ I was encouraged to take part in all household activities, and practically required to participate in both secular and church-related rituals,¹² including several rites of passage in which I was the initiate. The Anutans seemed to take almost as great an interest in my study as I did. On rare occasion information was withheld, but this was almost always due to the informant's lack of expertise and a reluctance to provide me with inaccurate data. In such cases I would always be referred to the acknowledged expert. Just one man was

¹¹For further discussion of this point, see my forthcoming work *Social Structure of Anuta Island* (Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark, in press).

¹²By "secular" I do not necessarily mean "profane" in Durkheim's sense. Rites of passage, preparation of tumeric pigment, and several other rituals were surrounded by stringent taboos and generally imbued with a sense of awe or reverence such that it would be appropriate to call them "sacred." [See Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (New York: Free Press, 1915).] "Secular," in this context, simply indicates that the rites in question are not particularly associated with the Christian church.

genuinely uncooperative, and he was seen by other people on Anuta as mentally disturbed.¹³ Aside from this the only topic my informants were, for a long time, reluctant to discuss was their encounters with spirit beings, and toward the culmination of my stay this subject opened up as well.¹⁴ There were many reasons for my warm reception and acceptance, but the groundwork laid by Firth through his dealings with the Tikopia was prominent among them.

A major problem often faced by anthropologists is how to explain and justify their work to people whom they plan to study. As Berreman has aptly stated:

Every ethnographer, when he reaches the field, is faced immediately with accounting for himself before the people he proposes to learn to know. Only when this has been accomplished can he proceed to his avowed task of seeking to understand and interpret the way of life of those people. The second of these endeavors is more frequently discussed in anthropological literature than the first, although the success of the enterprise depends as largely upon one as the other.¹⁵

For me this problem was resolved quite simply. Since Tikopia is Anuta's nearest neighbor and the islands are in constant contact, the Anutans were aware of Firth and of the nature of his work. They knew that he had lived among the Tikopians, learned about their language and their customs, and had written books on what he learned. The books portrayed the Tikopians' customs sympathetically, and through them, the Anutans were convinced that people the world over had received a favorable image of the island's people and their way of life.

With the Anutans' knowledge of Firth's work it was an easy matter to explain my plans. I would try to do what he had done on Tikopia. As the

¹³For a more detailed description of this case, its significance and implications, see my forthcoming monograph, *Anutan Concepts of Disease: A Polynesian Study* (Laie, Hawaii: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1979).

¹⁴There was a good reason, I might add, to expect this to be a sensitive subject. The Anutans are at least nominally Christian and have been for over half a century. Acknowledgment of traditional spirits, they are aware, is looked upon with disfavor by the church authorities, and even Europeans not tied to the church view such beliefs as foolish. Yet, it became apparent that belief in pagan deities and spirits was universal on the island, and virtually everyone, the catechist included, had experienced encounters with such spirits on a number of occasions.

¹⁵Berreman, *Behind Many Masks*, p. 5.

Anutans' culture has not been faced with serious disruption and their fundamental values never have been threatened, they remain a proud, self-confident, and forthright people.¹⁶ Thus, not only were they delighted to be given the same recognition that had already been accorded to the Tikopians, but they seemed to feel that I was doing all the world a favor by reporting their beliefs and social practices. And from what they knew of their neighbors' experience they perceived an anthropologist as someone they could trust.

Additional Reflections

Not all the reasons for my generous, enthusiastic treatment had to do, of course, with Firth directly. The Anutans are a thoroughly hospitable and friendly group of people. Although they admire physical strength they are not characterized by the belligerent aggressiveness reported for the Nuer by Evans-Pritchard, the Yanomamo by Chagnon,¹⁷ and innumerable other people. Nor are the Anutans overly suspicious of outsiders, as seems to be the case with many Melanesians or the people of Sirkanda.¹⁸

In my case the Anutans' normal hospitality was magnified by the esteem accorded Europeans. As is the case with many Polynesians, they

¹⁶The statement that Anutan culture has undergone no major disruption applies to approximately the past two hundred years. About eight generations ago, according to oral traditions, one man and his two brothers and one brother-in-law slew the remainder of Anuta's male population and began the present *kainanga* system. (See my *Social Structure of Anuta Island*, forthcoming, chapter VI.) Since that time, the only major change seems to have been the nominal adoption of the Christian religion, and even this alteration has been largely ephemeral. No one doubted the validity of the old religion (see footnote 14 above); the people merely felt the ancient deities and rites of worship had been replaced by new and more efficacious ones.

¹⁷Napoleon A. Chagnon, *The Yanomamo: The Fierce People* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968).

¹⁸Several investigators have gone so far as to characterize Melanesian culture and personality structure as paranoid. For example, see R. F. Fortune, *The Sorcerers of Dobu* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1903); Ruth F. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934); and Theodore Schwartz, "The Cargo Cult: A Melanesian Type-Response," in *Responses to Change*, ed. George A. DeVos (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1976). This paranoia may even be directed toward members of a different descent group or residents of different villages on one's own island. Similarly, the people of Sirkanda are renowned for their suspicious attitudes toward immigrants even from other Pahari villages (Berreman, *Behind Many Masks*, pp. 5-6). In such settings even the most sensitive field worker may experience difficulty establishing rapport.

consider light skin and fair hair to be particularly attractive.¹⁹ East is held, symbolically, to be superior to west, and Europeans originally came to Anuta from the east. Moreover, the Anutans respect technological accomplishment, military power, and material wealth, especially when coupled with mutual respect and generosity. Given the Anutans' value system, it is not surprising that the most esteemed of "Europeans" are held to be Americans, and being an American weighed strongly in my favor.²⁰

Among the most pervasive, positively valued units in Anutan culture is one they term *aropa*. *Aropa* denotes positive affect for another person or being, but it is only recognized insofar as it is validated by the giving and/or sharing of material goods. My grant from the United States Public Health Service made it possible for me to be a source of rare and useful items, which not only provided my informants with a material incentive

¹⁹Not only was this preference expressed verbally, but the Anutans often act on it. They avoid spending long periods of time in the direct sunlight in order to prevent unnecessary darkening of the skin as well as to avoid the physical discomfort of heat and sunburn. And they are among the few Polynesian people remaining who still bleach their hair with lime from the reef in order to make it as light as possible. It is common for unmarried Anutans, and even a few married men to have a head of platinum-blond hair atop their copper-colored bodies.

²⁰In the Solomon Islands generally, Americans appear to be much loved, respected, and admired. Shortly prior to my arrival in what was then the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, a member of the Governing Council is reputed to have threatened to expel the British so that America could take charge and run the territory properly. A friend of mine was told by a Malaitan headman, that, "America, hem close-up heaven." (Meltzoff, personal communication.) I was once assured by a Malaitan, for several hours running, that "My people love your people because you came to die for us during the war." [World War II.] And I was told repeatedly by the Anutans that Americans were the finest, cleverest, strongest, and most generous people they had ever known. Some of these comments may have been calculated attempts at ingratiation, but I do not believe that they were wholly insincere. It was the Americans who drove out the Japanese during World War II, and the US military forces evidently were more sympathetic than the Japanese in their dealings with the local people. Moreover, since the war those Americans with whom the Solomon Islanders have had the most contact have been pleasure yachters, Peace Corps volunteers, and anthropologists. These are people who usually come with useful gifts or services, who associate with local people more or less as equals, who make an effort to learn the local languages, and who respect the people's customs. Englishmen, Australians, and New Zealanders have tended, on the other hand, to be missionaries, merchants, or administrators. Such persons may have money, but they are perceived as stingy, they make relatively little effort to "rub shoulders" with the islanders, and they exercise potentially coercive power over them. This distinction between Americans and other Europeans, undoubtedly, was not so clearly formulated at the time of Firth's first field experience in 1928 and 1929.

to maintain my friendship, but equally important, enabled me to express *aropa* through my behavior.²¹

It is significant that most of the Anutans' dealings with European powers, thus far, have been amicable. It is true that "blackbirders," from time to time, appear to have antagonized the population. There are even stories of two European ships whose crews were slain by the Anutans. And today, many Anutans and Tikopians have worked for Levers Copra Plantations, the Solomon Islands' government, or assorted firms, and they are aware that working conditions and wages may not be the best.²² However, geographical isolation, small size, and absence of commercially exploitable resources on the two islands have effectively discouraged European governments and corporations from attempting to make inroads as they have in other sections of the globe. The Anutans, then, had less objective reason for suspicion than do many other "Third World" peoples.

Finally, I ought to note that I was preceded on Anuta by a team of Douglas Yen, an ethnobotanist, and Patrick Kirch and Paul Rosendahl, two archaeologists, from the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu. The respect and generosity with which these three researchers treated the Anutans made a favorable impression on the people of the island and undoubtedly had much to do with my own treatment and reception.

Many of the factors I have enumerated served as aids to Firth in his investigations, just as they did to me in mine. A cultural value enjoining hospitality, respect for Europeans, appreciation of acts of generosity, and relative freedom from foreign domination or commercial exploitation, all characterize Tikopia of the 1920s as well as present-day Anuta. Yet, I had one great advantage that Firth could not share: the precedent that he, himself, established in the minds of my informants.

²¹For a more extensive discussion of *aropa*, its definition, and its implications in Anutan culture, see my forthcoming work, *Social Structure of Anuta Island*, in press.

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Department of Sociology & Anthropology
Kent State University

THE EDUCATION EXPLOSION IN TRUK

by Francis X. Hezel, S. J.

The sound that you all heard in the late 1960s and early 1970s was that of the education explosion in Micronesia. It was not a single thunderous blast, but a series of loud ominous rumblings that have produced fearful tremors in the islands and shaken them to their core. What's more, the explosion has unleashed a gigantic tidal wave of young graduates that threatens to engulf the islands, from the tiniest and most traditional atoll to the most populated and modernized of the district centers.

Nowhere has the explosion been felt more strongly than in the Truk District where school expansion in recent years has been enormous. In 1965 there was a single moderate-sized high school serving the entire district; today there are no fewer than six. In that year there was a total of 200 Trukese with high school diplomas; today there are more than 2300. A single senior class at Truk High School today produces more Trukese high school graduates than were turned out during the entire first twenty years of American administration in the Trust Territory (TT) (1945-1964). In 1965, there were thirty-five Trukese away at college; today there are over 600 studying abroad. The number of graduates, at the high school and college level, has increased since 1965 by a factor of ten or more.

Truk is almost literally awash with the young graduates that its schools have been mass-producing for some years now. What has been their impact upon their communities, Trukese society as a whole, and the money economy of the district? What are they presently doing and what are their prospects for the future?

This paper will attempt to review some of the highlights of the secondary and post-secondary education explosion in Truk, describe the more immediate consequences of the explosion, and look to its possible impact in the years ahead. The data used here is drawn from a survey of all Trukese high school graduates that Lynn Ilon completed in June 1978 with the assistance of two Xavier High School seniors, Lester Muritok and Speeder Setile. The information that they so laboriously gathered on graduates was used to compile an individual education/employment profile for each. These were then coded and, with the generous assistance of the TT Office of Planning and Statistics, programmed for a computer run.

A printout of the data was graciously furnished to the author for preparation of this paper.

The High School Boom

We might do well to begin by reviewing the history of secondary school development in Truk, for it is high school expansion more than any other single factor that accounts for the prodigious education explosion of recent years. Most of us have come to think of only two phases in the American education system in the TT: that period of controlled growth prior to 1963, and the years of rapid expansion that followed the Kennedy Administration with their annual budget increments. In actual fact, however, the data that has been collected on Trukese graduates reveals five quantum leaps that high school education in the district has made since the end of World War II. Each of them was introduced by a major educational policy change and a notable expansion of high school facilities which resulted in significant swelling of high school enrollment. Let us take a brief look at each of these five periods in the history of secondary education in Truk.

1. 1947-1951: Early Teacher Training Schools. In 1947 MATTS (Marianas Area Teacher Training School) was established on Guam as the first post-intermediate school for Micronesian students. It was replaced the following year by PITTS (Pacific Islands Teacher Training School) which was located in Truk and expanded, at first to a two-year, then to a three-year course of studies. A total of twenty-two Trukese earned their diplomas during these four years, yielding an average of about five graduates a year during this period.

2. 1952-1964 Central TT-Wide High School. With the changeover from Naval to Civilian Administration in the Trust Territory, PITTS was renamed PICS (Pacific Islands Central School). During its initial years, PICS remained primarily a teacher-training school, although it offered a variety of technical and academic training programs. By 1956, however, it had been transformed into a full three-year senior high school. Three years later it was moved to Ponape where it remained the only public senior high school in the Trust Territory until it was phased out in 1965. Xavier High School, a small private school that enrolled boys from all the districts, was opened as a high school in 1953 and graduated its first class three years later. A total of 170 Trukese graduated from PICS

and Xavier during this thirteen-year period, or an average of thirteen per year.

3. 1965–1969: District High School. 1965 might be considered a watershed in the history of secondary education in Truk since it marked the first graduating class of Truk High School. During the early 1960s the single interdistrict central high school (PICS) was being replaced by full four-year high schools in each of the districts. Secondary school enrollment was everywhere increased to keep pace with the accelerated elementary school program that was begun in the late Kennedy years. The major educational policy shift was towards a full high school education for as many within the district as possible. In addition, Mizpah High School, an interdistrict high school run by the Protestant Mission, was opened in Truk in 1965. In this five-year period 298 Trukese received their high school diplomas, making an average of sixty a year.

4. 1970–1973: Establishment of Junior High Schools. In 1970 the community-built vocational schools that had been set up on Ulul,

Satawan and Tol during the height of the “Occupational Education” era were transformed into junior high schools and given full academic standing. In 1972 another junior high school was established on Moen at the site of Mizpah, which had ceased operating as a private school; and in 1974 another was built on Toloas. Eventually a system of five junior high schools was completed, all of them funneling their students into Truk High School and swelling its enrollment. The size of graduating classes at Truk High School more than doubled during these years. A total of 607 Trukese completed high school during these four years—more than had graduated during the entire 25 years of US administration prior to 1970. An average of 152 young men and women finished high school each year.

5. 1974–Present: Expansion of Truk High School. Construction of the new classroom buildings at Truk High School was finished in 1974 and its conversion into a two-year senior high school was complete. Work on the facilities had begun in 1972 with the assistance of Typhoon Relief Funds. The size of graduating classes again doubled during this period, with an average of 294 receiving their diplomas each year. In the years 1974–1977, the total number of graduates was 1175.

Throughout the years secondary education in the TT has evolved from a single central school aimed at upgrading the skills of teachers to a

sprawling system of local schools whose purpose is to provide a general education for all who want it. The growing percentage of high school-age Trukese boys and girls who actually obtain their diplomas clearly reflects this substantial change in educational policy. In the years 1947-1951, the age of the teacher training school, only 2.3 percent of all eligible youth received a school certificate. The percentage increased slightly to 3.8 in the years 1952-1964, the era of the single central high school. In 1965-1969, 13.9 percent of all those who were old enough to graduate from high school actually did so. As the idea of universal secondary education gained currency, finally winning official endorsement by the administration in 1970, the figures rose even more sharply. During the years 1970-1973, the percentage doubled to 27.6; and, in the last four years covered by our study, it increased to 43.9 percent. (See Table 2).

By whatever measure we choose to employ, the proportions of the high school boom in Truk are simply staggering, far more so than the population explosion in the district that has aroused such serious concern. In 1964 there were not quite 200 Trukese with high school diplomas; five years later, however, there were about 500. Within another four years, by 1974, the total had more than doubled again to reach 1100. That figure once again doubled after still another four years, giving Truk almost 2300

TABLE 1

Number of Trukese High School Graduates by Year

1948— 3	1958— 5	1968— 78
1949— 4	1959— 6	1969— 74
1950— 6	1960— 9	1970—133
1951— 9	1961—10	1971—127
1952— 8	1962—15	1972—188
1953—18	1963—25	1973—159
1954—14	1964—20	1974—242
1955—16	1965—38	1975—306
1956—14	1966—61	1976—334
1957—10	1967—54	1977—293

Note: Total of graduates listed is 2279. For thirty-three of the 2312 total used in the study data the year of graduation is not known.

Sources: For years 1948-1964, Paul Williams, "Graduates of MITTS, PITTS, PICS and Truk High School," 30 July 1968. For years 1965-1977, Lynn Ilon, "Trukese High School Graduates," September 1978.

high school graduates by 1977. (See Table 2). The total population of the Truk District may be doubling every 22 years, but its high school graduate population has been doubling every four. Since 1970, while Truk's entire population was growing by about 25 percent, its number of graduates has increased by 360 percent. Educational expansion on such a grand scale may not bring more mouths to feed, but it surely leaves us with minds to be nourished and other whetted appetites to be satisfied. It gives rise to a feeding problem of a different sort.

We might note here that the stake of females in the high school boom has risen steadily over the past decade or so. In the years 1965-1969 only 16 percent of the total high school graduates were girls. During the following four years, girls accounted for 25 percent of the total; and in the most recent years, they have made up 38 percent of the number of graduates. Altogether the nearly 700 Trukese young women who have finished high school since 1965 represent about 30 percent of the total graduates. (See Table 3). Education of women, on the secondary and post-secondary level, has become a generally accepted fact in Truk within recent years.

TABLE 2

**Average Population of Truk District, Total 19-Year Old
Population, Number of H.S. Graduates and Percent of
Age-Group Graduating**

Period	Avg. Truk Pop for Period	Avg. No. 19-yr Olds per year	Total H.S. Grads in Period	Ann. Avg. H.S. Grads	% of Age- Gp. Gradu- ating
1948-51	15,000	240	22	5	2.3%
1952-62	20,000	340	170	13	3.8%
1965-69	26,000	440	305	61	13.9%
1970-73	29,000	550	607	152	27.6%
1974-77	33,500	670	1175	294	43.9%

Note: The 19-year old cohort of the population was taken to represent those who were eligible for graduation.

Sources: Population figures were taken from the reports on the 1958, 1967 and 1973 censuses as well as from the Annual Report to the UN for those years covered.

With it has come the search for new roles—beyond those of housewife, school teacher, or clerk-secretary—that the young educated females today can assume in their society.

The Surge to College

Towards the end of August each year, the Truk airport regularly overflows with swarms of young people, decked out in their Sunday best and heaped with *mwaramwars*, bidding a tearful goodbye to their parents and friends before they leave Truk, most of them for the first time. They are the latest crop of the college-bound and their number has become legion of late. Equipped with their I-20 form, a college address and a little pocket money, they are off to just about every conceivable corner of the U.S. to sample a world that they know only through the movies. They leave in search of an adventure. For some the adventure may be an intellectual one, but for most it is an opportunity to satisfy their curiosity about American life and to take up the challenge of "making it" in an alien culture. Still others board the plane in August because everyone else they know is leaving for college and they would be ashamed to admit that they were not going away too.

The mass exodus to college, following close on the heels of the expanded high school enrollments, is an important part of the total education explosion. Even if the upsurge in the number of college-bound does not easily fall into the kind of tidy little divisions that we used in the last

TABLE 3

Number of Female Graduates and Percentage of
All Graduates for Each Period

Period	Total H.S. Grads	No. of Females	Percentage
1948-51	22	3	14%
1952-64	170	18	11%
1965-69	305	49	16%
1970-73	607	151	25%
1974-77	1175	441	38%
TOTAL	2279	662	29%

section of this paper, a brief historical survey will help us grasp the magnitude of the increase in Trukese college students.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the number of Trukese who attended college remained rather small; there were only thirty-eight abroad at schools in 1966 and forty-nine in 1970. (See Table 4). Most of those who did go on to college attended the College of Guam, usually on a TT Government scholarship, and resided at a special dormitory for Micronesian students located at the edge of the campus. A few others attended college elsewhere, notably Fiji and the Philippines, on medical scholarships and for other specialized training. A mere handful of Trukese got as far as mainland U.S. and those who did usually went on private scholarships. For the most part, young people who attended college in those earlier years were carefully screened through scholarship selection processes and represented the intellectual elite of their schools.

By 1970 some notable changes had occurred in this picture. Although Trukese college students had not grown very much in number by then, a perceptible drift eastward had clearly begun towards colleges in Hawaii. Scholarship Hall at the College of Guam had been closed sometime in the late 1960s and the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii had begun to offer technical training courses and other short-term programs to Micronesian participants. Honolulu was becoming the new educational mecca for young Micronesians. Meanwhile, the yearly amount of money made available for college scholarships was growing. Besides the usual TT Government awards, there were also a number of college scholarships

TABLE 4

Number of Trukese in College and Their Location
During Given Years

	1966	1970	1974	1978
CCM/MOC	0	0	56	57
Guam/Saipan	23	21	62	72
Hawaii	4	16	52	51
U.S. Mainland	3	4	48	414
Other	8	8	19	66
TOTAL	38	49	237	660

Sources: Figures for 1966, 1970 and 1974 were taken from Annual Report to UN for these years. 1978 figures are from Lynn Ilon, "Trukese High School Graduates," Table 3.

funded by the Congress of Micronesia and still others granted by the district legislatures.

The college tide continued to surge in the early 1970s with the increase in scholarship funds, the initiation of a post-secondary vocational program at MOC in 1970, and the opening of CCM (formerly the Micronesian Teacher Education Center) as a two-year college in 1971. But the greatest impetus of all came late in 1972 when Micronesian students were first declared eligible for U.S. Federal education grants for the economically and socially "disadvantaged." Within a year, Trukese students in great numbers were filing applications for BEOGs and a host of other grants that virtually assured them of the wherewithal to continue their education in the U.S. With the advent of the Federal college grant, pursuit of a college education was no longer contingent upon whether a boy or girl received a scholarship grant. College, in other words, was no longer the prerogative of the intellectually gifted; it became a universal right. As a result, the number of Trukese attending college increased dramatically during these years—from fifty in 1970, to 240 in 1974, to 600 in 1978. Because of the stipulation that these grants could be used only in American institutions, the drift eastward continued, naturally enough, in the direction of the U.S. mainland where two-thirds of the students currently abroad are doing their college studies.

The rise in the number of college-bound Trukese has been if anything, even more impressive than the increase in the district's high school population. Nine of the Trukese graduates in 1965 went on for further education, as compared to well over 100 in each of the years between 1974 and 1977. The college exodus appears to have peaked with the class of 1976 which had almost 190 of its number continue their studies abroad. (See Table 5).

The percentage of high school graduates going on to college has also increased over the years, but not nearly as dramatically as the absolute numbers might suggest. This is understandable, of course, when we recall that the influx into college was occurring concomitantly with expanding high school enrollment. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, the percentage of college-bound graduates in each year fluctuated between 35 and 50 percent. Only in the last six years, with the availability of U.S. Federal funds for all who want them, has the number of those going on to college consistently exceeded 50 percent of the class. In 1975 and 1976, the two peak years, it reached over 60 percent.

Not only is a greater percentage of each graduating class going on for further studies today, but these students are generally enrolling in college

academic courses rather than the special training programs that many of the earlier graduates took. Although nineteen (or roughly half) of the 1966 graduates, for example, are listed as having pursued post-secondary education, only seven of these attended what could properly be called colleges. The others went off to special training programs—for police work, practical nursing, surveying and the like—that varied greatly in type and length. In 1972, by contrast, two-thirds of those who went on for further education attended college in the strict sense of the word. All indications are that in more recent years an even higher ratio attend college, although we have no hard data to support this claim.

Especially talented high school graduates, whether in past years or in our own day, have always been virtually guaranteed the opportunity to continue their education. The top third of the class has usually found the funds, generally through scholarships, to go off to college. Today's situation, however, differs markedly from that of past years in this respect: a

TABLE 5

Total H.S. Graduates, Number of College-Bound, and Percentage of College-Bound by Year, 1965-1977

Year	Total H.S. Grads	(Corrected Total°)	College- Bound	Percentage
1965	38	27	9	33%
1966	61	53	19	36%
1967	54	49	20	41%
1968	78	72	19	26%
1969	74	74	40	54%
1970	133	122	55	45%
1971	127	115	52	45%
1972	188	169	99	59%
1973	159	149	80	54%
1974	242	227	131	58%
1975	306	280	177	63%
1976	334	309	189	61%
1977	293	276	117	42%

°“Corrected Total” indicates total of high school graduates minus those whose post-high school career is given as “unknown.”

Sources: Lynn Ilon, “Trukese High School Graduates,” Table 1A.

greater percentage of a much larger and less select high school class are pursuing more ambitious studies programs abroad. Unless the quality of the high schools and their clientel has notably improved since the 1960s, we can only assume that a good number of today's college-bound are insufficiently gifted to meet the challenges of a rigorous college program in a strange culture. This should be borne in mind when considering the success rate of Trukese students in college today.

Even those high school graduates who are seriously deficient in basic skills seem to have little difficulty in finding a college to admit them. The liberal admissions policies of many American colleges today are due at least as much to declining enrollments as to the intellectual conviction that no one should be denied an education, whatever his ability and background might be. Micronesian students are a particularly attractive prize for small obscure colleges today; they not only fill empty desks, but "minority group" quotas as well, thus qualifying these financially hard-pressed schools for coveted federal funds. A number of these colleges have begun aggressive recruiting campaigns in Truk as elsewhere in Micronesia, and the word is out that they will accept anyone who will have them.

Given all these factors, it is difficult to discuss in any meaningful way the success rate of Trukese college students today. Does "success" mean finishing a two-year degree course in a rural community college with an open admissions policy and no academic standards to speak of? Or does it mean completion of a fairly rigorous academic program at a respectable university? Is it "failure" for a student to return home before the completion of his studies if his father is sick, or his funds are exhausted, or he realizes he is hopelessly over his head in college, or he is simply homesick? Rather than attempt to define success and failure here, perhaps all that we can reasonably hope to do is present a summary of the raw data. Between 1965 and 1977, about 270 Trukese students have completed a degree program at some level leading to the reception of an AA, AB, MA or their equivalents, with about ninety of them earning a Bachelor's degree or higher. (See Table 6). During the same period, another 171 have left school for some reason before the completion of their program. If we should choose to regard the former groups as successful, then the "success rate" of Trukese students abroad is 62 percent.

What They Do After School

"What will they all do after they finish high school?" is the question that is often raised of young Trukese students today. What they actually

have done is rather clear from the data that has been collected. The general pattern that emerges follows those lines.

First they submit their applications to college, work to win their family's approval, and try to scrape together enough money for their plane fare to the U.S. Slightly more than one-half of all the high school graduates since 1965 have successfully managed all of these things and have gone off to college, many of them prompted by the hope of better job prospects after earning a higher degree. Those who, for some reason, do not make it to college look for a job—preferably, it seems, on their home island where family ties still hold a strong attraction for them. In earlier years, it was rather easy for high school graduates to find employment on their own islands as elementary school teachers. Of the Truk High School graduating class of 1966, for example, twenty-five out of thirty-seven found jobs in education, almost all of them on their home islands. More recently, however, teaching positions in village schools have become much more difficult to obtain; they have long since been filled by the earlier waves of high school graduates. And there is virtually no other salaried employment available in the villages!

With the lack of openings in the elementary schools, recent graduates who want a regular paycheck are forced to leave their home islands and follow the job harvest. That, of course, leads them to Moen Island where a growing number of young men and women have settled of late. This ac-

TABLE 6

**Total Trukese H.S. Graduates by Sex, College Education
and Degree Obtained**

College Education	Male	Female	Total
None	626	369	995
Less than 2 yrs	127	44	171
A.A. Degree	149	55	204
B.A. Degree	62	10	72
M.A. Degree	15	2	17
Still in School	488	172	660
Unknown	152	41	193
TOTAL	1619	693	2312

Source: Lynn Ilon, "Trukese High School Graduates," Tables 1A and 3.

counts for the fact that only 45 percent of the class of 1972 have returned to their home islands to live, compared with 70 percent of the class of 1966.

If there are no jobs for them on Moen, then most young people eventually leave for their own island where they can at least live off the land and count on the support of close kin. They may dally in the district center for a year or two to "catch a piece of the action" while they half-heartedly hunt for a job, but they soon tire of this footloose life and return home to live with their families and await their turn for a CETA salary. Some will keep a close lookout for an opportunity to get to college, perhaps to temporarily escape the tedium of life on a small island or possibly to improve their chances of finding a job in the future. Most, however, simply marry, have children, and settle into the quiet village life that they had known before their high school days.

Admittedly this description runs contrary to the prevailing myth that high school students, once seduced by the bright lights of Moen, will not willingly "return to the farm." Whether willingly or not, they do return. The facts show that over 60 percent of all high school graduates not currently in college are now living on their home islands. (See Table 7). Of the 400 (or 30 percent of the total) who have taken up residence on Moen, all but seventy have found full salary employment. This latter

TABLE 7

**Present Residence of H.S. Graduates Not Presently in
School by Attainment of College Education**

College Education	Home Island		Moen		Elsewhere in Truk		Out of Dist.	
None	613	(67)	239	(26)	40	(4)	26	(3)
Less than								
2 years	97	(63)	45	(30)	8	(5)	4	(2)
A.A. Degree	72	(46)	66	(42)	10	(6)	10	(6)
B.A. Degree or								
higher	25	(37)	29	(43)	4	(6)	10	(14)
Unknown	67		52		5		5	
TOTAL	874	(61)	431	(30)	67	(5)	55	(4)

Note: Figures in parentheses are percentages. The sum of each horizontal row is 100%.

Source: Lynn Ilon, "Trukese High School Graduates," Table 2A.

number, it should be noted, is only slightly larger than that of the high school graduates who have moved from their home island to all the other islands in Truk combined, usually by reason of marriage. The seventy (or 5 percent of the total) who have remained in the district center without employment include young men and women who have found spouses from Moen and are raising families there besides those temporary drifters who are kicking up their heels a bit before settling down on their own islands. All of this hardly confirms the popular view of the district center as overrun with jobless high school graduates who fast become habitués of the local jail. Our data shows an altogether different picture: very few high school graduates remain on Moen unless they have found a job (or a spouse) there—and those who do will not usually remain very long.

Much of what has just been said of high school graduates can also be applied analogously to those who have gone away to college. Very few of those who have ended their college studies have chosen to remain permanently in the U.S. or other parts of the world. Our data shows fifty-five Trukese not now in studies residing outside of Truk District, thirteen of them living in the U.S.; this figure represents a mere four percent of all the graduates who have finished their studies. In short, there has been no appreciable "brain drain" out of Truk up to the present. Nearly all those who have gone on to college in past years have returned to Truk, confident of finding jobs in the district to match their qualifications. Inasmuch as those who have returned with college degrees number only about 200 and have been scattered throughout a period of several years, they have seldom been disappointed. Like the early high school graduates who were fortunate enough to be able to return to both family and a job on their home island, these college degree-holders have found both a cultural home and employment upon their return from abroad.

More of the college-educated are making their home on Moen, as we might expect, presumably because of the availability of better-paying and higher status jobs in the district center. Forty-two percent of those with a two-year degree and 43 percent of those who have earned a four-year degree have taken up residence on Moen. (See Table 7). By comparison, 30 percent of those who have returned after less than two years abroad and 26 percent of those who have never gone away have moved to the district center. It appears, understandably enough, that the greater one's college attainment, the more likely he is to make his home on Moen after his return.

If there has yet been no evidence of any substantial "brain drain" in Truk, we must remember that the real impact of the college exodus has

not yet been felt in the district. Almost two-thirds of all those who have gone on to college are still away. Those who have come back, as we have already mentioned, have been absorbed into an expanding economy over a rather extended period of time. In general, those Trukese who have finished college have not yet been required to make the difficult choice between returning home to remain idle or finding a sure job overseas. If in the future employment opportunities in Truk should diminish, then those in college might face this perplexing decision. Would they follow their homing instinct and return to Truk without guarantee of a job, or would they remain abroad to find salaried employment? As of yet this remains an unanswered question.

Facing the Job Crunch

A good majority (about 60 percent) of the high school graduates have, as we have seen, returned to their home islands to live. To help us understand what awaits them there, it might be well to take a closer look at one such island—Patta Municipality on the western side of Tol, whose population was given as 690 in the 1973 census.

In 1973, when I was living on Patta, there were only twelve high school graduates from that island, all of them employed. Ten were elementary school teachers working on Patta or on nearby Polle, and two had jobs on Moen in health services, one of whom commuted each day from Patta. Nine of the graduates resided on Patta and another lived quite close by.

As of last year, the number of graduates had tripled to thirty-six, but the employment situation in education and health services had not changed very much in the meantime. Eight of the original ten teachers still had their jobs and three people were now working in public health. (The commuter had moved to Moen, but continued to work in the dental clinic.) Two more graduates had found jobs on Patta, one in the district legislature and the other for a small business, while another two found employment on Moen where they now live. The total number working for a salary was now fifteen, a net gain of three jobs in the intervening five years.

What about the rest? Eight of them, one of whom now resides on Moen, are listed as “unemployed” and are presumably tending their taro patches and diving for octopus. Eleven more who are away at college have not even entered the job market yet. When they do, it is highly doubtful that they will find any improvement in the employment situa-

tion on their own island. With the local teaching positions filled and the hospital staffed to its budgetary limits, the best they can reasonably expect is a short-term training job funded by CETA. An increase of three jobs and twenty-four graduates over a five-year period does not bode well for the future. The picture that our data gives of Patta—as of just about every other island in Truk—is of a woefully stagnant economy that has little to offer those young diploma-bearers who must have jobs to be happy.

“The lucky ones were those Micronesians who finished school in the 1960s and had no trouble getting jobs right away.” Anyone who has spent time with today’s crop of high school students has probably heard this remark dozens of times over. There is, of course, a great deal of truth to it, and some justification as well for the tinge of resentment with which it is often spoken.

Today’s mammoth educational system was conceived in the last decade by planners who were riding the crest of an employment boom. With the implementation of the newly-formulated policy of Micronesianization, many positions formerly held by expatriates were being offered to qualified Micronesians (and often the qualifications meant little more than having a degree in hand!). The new schools that were built in the early 1960s had to be staffed with educated Micronesians, for American contract teachers were being phased out and Peace Corps was soon to finally take a firm stand against deploying its volunteers to fill teaching slots. Moreover, with the yearly increment in the TT budget, there were new offices conjured into being everytime one looked around—and new desks in these offices to be filled! They were indeed fortunate times for young Micronesians and heady ones for educational planners.

And so the schools were expanded and enrollments soared, while planners kept a far more careful eye on population projections than on employment prospects. Universal education—first at the elementary level, then at the secondary—was the rallying cry of almost everyone in the Trust Territory at the time. But as the schools were filled and the budget reached a ceiling and actually threatened to dip, educators and those being educated alike realized that there was trouble ahead. “Where do we find jobs for all those finishing school?” was the next refrain to be heard.

“Not in the government,” was the reply of administrators struggling to achieve that next to impossible feat of laying off personnel. “We’re faced with budget cuts and can’t afford to be an employment agency any longer.”

"Don't expect much of the private sector," was the echo of businessmen. "The day of the big tourist industry just hasn't arrived, and everyone knows that our expansion depends on government salaries. Where the administration goes, we follow."

"Don't look at us," the educators said. "We only promised you knowledge, perhaps even wisdom, but never jobs. These you will have to create for yourselves."

"Out of what?" asked the disappointed school children, who, to take their minds off their unpromising future, went on to more schools hoping that some answer would be found before they ran out of schools to attend and degrees to collect.

Indeed, the massive exodus to college within the last four or five years has softened the impact of the hordes of recent high school graduates on the creaking job market. More than half of Truk's recent high school graduates are still abroad for studies, after all. College, then, has been something of a solution to the job shortage—but only a temporary one, of course. It has merely postponed the day of reckoning for the young and all the rest of us.

Even with more than 600 college students withdrawn for a time from the labor force, Truk has still had to absorb over 1600 high school graduates into its economy since 1965. Considering their number, they have fared surprisingly well. About two-thirds of them have managed to find jobs, the vast majority (76 percent) with the government. (See Table 8). The remaining third—the 500 unemployed—include 200 females, many of whom have probably adopted the full-time role of housewife. The 300 young men who have not found jobs are, as we have already pointed out, well distributed throughout the many islands of the district, not huddled

TABLE 8

Present Employment of H.S. Graduates Who Have Finished Studies

Employment	Male	Female	Total
Education	337	85	422
Other Govt	236	109	345
Private	138	99	237
Total Employed	711	293	1004
Unemployed	308	199	507

Source: Lynn Ilon, "Trukese High School Graduates," Table 5A.

together in a small enclave feeding one another's discontent and plotting violent revolutions. At present, the unemployed comprise an amazingly small percentage of the total number of high school graduates in Truk, and this despite the dormant village economies that have been illustrated above.

How, might we ask, has Truk been able to perform the economic miracle required to find jobs for so many of its recent graduates? Will it be able to duplicate this feat again and again in future years as its 600-plus college students return and high school graduates continue to pour out of its schools?

To answer the first question, we must turn to employment and TT budget figures for Truk District. A glance at the employment figures reveals that during the twelve years between 1963 and 1975 the number of positions held by Trukese increased from about 1000 to 2800. (See Table 9). This comes to an average gain of 150 jobs a year during those boom years when the budget was increased annually and private businesses were proliferating. By 1975, however, the budget had leveled off and government reductions-in-force were being announced almost daily. Nonetheless, an astonishing 900 jobs were added in fiscal year 1976, and a whopping 1200 more in 1977. Employment in Truk expanded more during those two years than it had in the previous dozen, the heyday of the "growing economy."

TABLE 9

Number of T.T. Citizens Employed in Truk for Given Years

Year	T.T. Govt.	Private	Total Employed
1963	449	594	1043
1967	694	849	1543
1970	1077	755	1832
1973	1356	1159	2515
1975	1457	1346	2803
1976	2148	1595	3743
1977	NA	NA	4970

Note: "T.T. Govt" includes only those on the T.T. Administration payroll and does not include persons employed by Congress of Micronesia, District Legislature or municipalities.

Sources: Annual Reports to U.N. for 1963 to 1976. Figures for 1977 were taken from T.T. Office of Planning and Statistics, *Bulletin of Statistics*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (June 1978).

The economic "miracle" that gave rise to so many additional jobs and made possible the employment of great numbers of young graduates (and others as well) resulted from funds provided by U.S. Federal programs. CETA alone employed 1500 persons in the last three years, although not all were on year-round jobs. A raft of other Federal programs, especially in education, health and other social services, accounted for the employment of many others. Just as it was Federal programs that built the schools in the first place, and another Federal program that enabled so many of their graduates to attend college, so it was still others that provided employment for those finishing studies, enabling Truk to avert a major employment crisis.

Can this "miracle" be duplicated in the years ahead? Certainly not at the present level of U.S. Federal program funding. Monies available to be tapped—as the euphemism goes—would have to be incremented enormously in order to provide jobs for all the educated who will seek them. Employment for those 600 college students alone who will be returning within the next four years would cost about two million dollars a year in salaries. In any case, the very existence of Federal programs after the termination of the Trusteeship Status in 1981 is questionable. There may well be no future economic miracles at all. It is unfair, after all, to expect miracles to happen on a regular basis! It's also unrealistic, given the prodigious number of dollars that would be required to solve the unemployment problem in Truk.

Sooner or later, the people of Truk will have to accept the plain facts and learn to live with them. There will very likely never again be nearly enough salaried jobs for everyone who has finished Truk High School and Xavier, and probably not even enough for those who have done their two years at Antelope Valley or Spoon River Community College. We have a large and costly school system that has been inherited from the 1960s and early 70s and barely enough money to run it, but we certainly do not have the funds to do all this and furnish jobs as well for all the young people that the schools disgorge.

The education explosion in Truk is a fact. Schools need not be shut down, but students and parents ought to know that the aspirations they have nourished will probably not be fully realized—at least not in Truk. No good purpose is served by encouraging them to build castles in the sky. In the past few years, several hundred Trukese graduates, displaying powers of readjustment greater than many of us would have imagined possible, have settled back into their island communities with apparent good grace. A great many more will almost certainly have to do the same

in the years ahead. Whether those who are now in college or will soon be there will be willing to do likewise remains to be seen. If they are not, and barring another economic "miracle," we shall at last see the beginning of the "brain drain" in Truk.

Director, Micronesian Seminar
Truk, East Caroline Islands

EDITOR'S FORUM

THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE OF MICRONESIA: PRESENT SITUATION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS*

by Dirk A. Ballendorf

I am especially glad to be here this morning to discuss with you some important issues in education in Micronesia. Without question, the Community College of Micronesia is unique among community colleges. Its beginnings can be traced to the post-World War II teacher training programs at Guam; then to the Pacific Islands Teacher Training School (PITTS) at Truk in the early 1950s. After PITTS developed into a comprehensive secondary school—the Pacific Islands Central School (PICS)—at Ponape, the Micronesian Teacher Education Center (MTEC), was established in two classrooms at PICS in 1963—truly a modest beginning. But from this start the present-day Community College of Micronesia grew, and over the years has changed its emphasis from teacher training to a broader community college program in general education, offering associate degrees in education, nursing, business, special education, and liberal arts.

Few developing areas in history have relied as completely on education for the expected solutions to problems and the achievement of modernization as has Micronesia. Journalist David Nevin says that “the people see education as the avenue to the new success . . . almost angrily they press elementary students to compete for high school positions, and they press American officials and their own political leaders to enlarge high schools so that everyone may go.” Today the enrollments at CCM are higher than ever, and the applicants for next year’s admissions are greater in number than in previous years.

While here in Hawaii and on the mainland college enrollments are steady or declining due to decreased birth rates, in the islands potential enrollments remain large as the birth rate there continues to grow. In 1977 the Congress of Micronesia passed PL-729, which was signed by act-

*A paper presented at the Social Science Research Institute, the University of Hawaii at Manoa, 15 February 1979.

ing High Commissioner J. Boyd Mackenzie, establishing the College of Micronesia. This law joined together the Community College and the Nursing School with the Micronesian Occupational Center (now the Occupational College) under one administration headed by a Chancellor.

The purposes of postsecondary programs of all kinds are greater now than ever before. Today much more emphasis is being placed on occupational/vocational education and on articulation with outside institutions in the areas of business and liberal arts. The decreasing availability of funds for education abroad is putting more and more pressure on the college to provide training and educational opportunities inside the country. This causes a new look at purpose and a new chance to frame an educational policy for the islands by the islanders themselves. In the past most educational policy has been imposed. There has also always been money in the budget—provided for from public funds—for some students to go outside the area for higher education.

Now, of course, the picture and pattern are changing. The Trusteeship is scheduled to end in 1981, and with it all federal programs except four: the post office, the civil aeronautics board, the weather bureau, and the federal communications commission. The basic educational opportunity grants (BEOGs)—federal college scholarships—which most Micronesians receive, and which we at CCM are dependent upon, are expected to cease.

It is envisioned now that the United States will provide the Micronesians with block grants—for Palau, FSM, and the Marshalls—and they alone will decide how these will be apportioned and allocated. The present costs of operating the entire college system in Micronesia is less than \$2 million, but this figure will have to rise fast if quality is to be maintained. The Chancellor has estimated that over the next fifteen years it will take some \$3.5 million to run the college annually.

In June 1978, the Community College of Micronesia was fully accredited by the Western States Commission for Community and Junior Colleges in California. The MOC had been accredited the year before, and the Nursing School—a part of CCM—is scheduled for a visitation by a commission team later this year. Accreditation is an important indicator of quality and it is awarded on the basis of quantifiable standards: education and experience of faculty, size of library holdings, condition of student service programs, facilities, and admission/graduation policies to mention only a few. It takes money to maintain and ensure such standards as have been set and achieved on a consistent and reliable basis. In addition to these accredited US standards, special attention must be given to

culturally-tailoring all educational programs, and this also takes money. A country practiced—as Micronesia is—in a wide dispersion of educational opportunity must also pay close attention to effectiveness. Participants who are not learning or gaining from inclusion in the educational program—at whatever level—represent a waste of increasingly scarce resources. In Micronesia the problem of student motivation is greater than the one of intellectual ability. A theory of instruction for Micronesians has never been developed by educators and psychologists and has been studied only scantily by anthropologists. Micronesian secondary and post-secondary students are reticent, retiring, and motivated generally to avoid failing rather than to achieve. In the classroom they will shy away from intellectual engagement in order not to risk failure, embarrassment or both. Yet the western imported models and many of the attending US teachers and administrators who deliver them, continue to assume a western cultural context in Micronesia. Lecturing, open discussion, free debate, outside-assigned readings—all these teaching techniques so common, and even second nature in more developed areas, are non-transferrable in the islands unless adaptations and modifications are made. This is what I mean by culturally-tailoring.

There are also more subtle—more difficult—cultural features to accommodate which although they are not exclusive Micronesian characteristics, nevertheless do not fit the efficiency of the western models. Among these are the idea that knowledge is private, not public property, and the acquiring of education is a privilege which has become a right. This notion comes as a result, largely, of massive amounts of US money for scholarships in recent years which has allowed many people of untested ability to go to college here or on the mainland. Father Hezel of the Micronesian Seminar at Truk has labeled this phenonemon aptly: the education explosion! Another special cultural feature in Micronesia is the scheduling of classes, their length and arrangement. This is an administrative area which has never gotten adequate attention and which could well result in higher productivity for both students and faculty.

On this matter of cultural adaption I should say that my own understanding of its complexities is slight after almost twenty years experience with it. Each time that I gain what I think is an insight, some contradictory event will occur causing me to reconsider. Still, my experience has tended to confirm that by teaching foreign skills there has been a tendency to inadvertently, yet nevertheless really, promote a sense of cultural inferiority among the students. In turn this has tended to cause a certain alienation on their part which often manifests itself in passivity and

non-achievement. Too often, however, outsiders—particularly Americans—have used this situation to rationalize their own inability to intellectually and practically deal with the great challenge of cultural-tailoring. Persistent refusal to confront and lead in educational matters can be very unhealthy for the steady advancement of students.

Yet Americans have made tremendous contributions to educational development in the islands and we are capable of understanding and confronting some of these problems together with Micronesians. One of the reasons we don't do this, I think, is that traditionally the Americans have not really invested themselves in Micronesian education and its problems. They have not seen their professional reputations being made there, and hence, haven't tried very hard. Usually they are "short-termers." I often hold them analogous to the whalers of old who came vicariously to refresh and replenish and then move on. The result of all this is that truly organic approaches and techniques have not been developed and practiced widely, nor have they evolved. Many good techniques are introduced but these are not sufficiently professionalized and they die out with those who brought them when those people leave the islands.

The resources and money being spent toward an educational achievement in Micronesia are considerable. Let me give you some statistics. Formal education in Micronesia on all levels now absorbs about 20 percent of the gross territorial product (TNP). The budget of the Congress of Micronesia allotted a full 16 percent to higher education alone in 1977-78 when the new College of Micronesia was funded through PL-729. This reflects the high priority placed on education by the Micronesians, as well as indicating the effects of the American models and value of universal education.

There are currently about three thousand teachers in Micronesia—over 90 percent of them Micronesians—and about 41,000 students at all levels. The daily lives of well over half the Micronesian people are involved in formal education. And beyond or separate from formal education lies an enormous amount of organized training in the government sector, and in the churches and private sector to some small extent. Incidentally, religious groups established what today have become the finest secondary and vocational schools in Micronesia: Xavier and Emmaus High Schools at Truk and Palau respectively, and at Ponape the Agricultural and Technical School—PATS. These schools, together with the other religious high schools, account for some 15 percent of the territory's secondary enrollment. With the exception of the Palau Modeknegei School at Ibohang, few new institutions are being started by religiously-oriented groups. The re-

sponsibility has passed to the public sector which is now largely self-governing and elected officials preside. Increasingly public support is being sought, and also funds being supplied for support of institutions essentially religious in their orientation.

The Americans, during the first two decades of their administration, spent a record of \$25 million on education. By 1975 the figure had reached more than \$14 million for that year alone, and this was more than the United States had spent for all educational services in the islands between 1945 and 1965! In the future, as I have already noted, school enrollments will continue to rise while money available for school budgets will shrink. Education is handicapped in three ways in trying to meet the future challenges. First, it now relies on continued inputs of US money in the form of Trust Territory budget allocations, and federal programs; both of which are scheduled to terminate with the Trusteeship in 1981. Second, the more effective use of funds may require selecting and tracking of students at the secondary level which will call for policy reversing universal education through high school which presently exists. Third, the segment of education in the greatest need of support, proportionally, in the next decade in Micronesia, will be higher education. The cost per student now at the CCM approaches \$4,500 per year, and still the quality is low compared to institutions here in Hawaii, in the Philippines, and on the US mainland where costs are also lower!

The birth rate in the islands is still on the rise—more than 2 percent per year—and the explosion in higher education demand—from twenty-two high school graduates in 1951 to 1,175 in 1977 in Truk alone—keeps climbing. Graduate and professional study abroad, and its demand by Micronesians, is expanding. Consequently per capita expenditures for post-secondary education will rise more rapidly than will those for primary and secondary education.

The major source of funding for all this must come from the US block grants which will be allocated by the Micronesian governments. But those newly-formed governments have other great demands on their resources; and internal competition for additional expenditures will be against such high priority projects as public works facilities, and agricultural/fisheries development programs.

Now, who are the people involved in making educational decisions? They are politicians. The legislatures of each political entity—Palau, FSM, and the Marshalls—have education committees. The regents' board members who are becoming politicized rapidly, now are immediately responsible for the college. Of course the various district directors of education

are also very important in decision-making. And with the election of public officials, these positions will now be more political and more influential. Finally, and very importantly, there are many non-Micronesian educators in the islands who are influential, especially among the various missionary ranks. These people and groups which I have mentioned have and do exercise important control over the future course of higher education in Micronesia.

I shall turn now to the new political organization—the three political entities—and their possible implications for the college. All of my comments are speculation since none of what I am about to say is certain. The four central districts—Ponape, Truk, Kosrae and Yap—which form the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), all send students to the college and will continue to do so. Their revenues support the college. Palau and the Marshalls, who are now sending students to the college—at both Palau and Ponape as well as Saipan—it is hoped, will continue to support the college with their revenues and continue also to send students. Just how this support will come, and in what amounts, is still to be decided.

Some of the other questions which can be posed in connection with the new political organization are: will the Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas (CNM) send any students to the college, or will their students go to Guam? Or will they start their own college as some have suggested they will? Can other island groups outside the present Trust Territory, such as Nauru and the Gilberts, send students to the college? Will they be accepted? Would they want to come in large numbers? How much revenue would outside places contribute? Finally, what will the new policies be within the three Micronesian political entities regarding the sending of students abroad? Many of you here in this room this morning, I know, are interested in this question.

Most of Micronesia's highly-trained manpower needs today are met through training in outside institutions, and this will have to continue. It's expensive of course. Last year the total cost from all sources to maintain all Micronesians studying in colleges abroad was about \$15 million. Surely this will change. It is already. And it will keep on changing. Yet training and education outside the islands is very necessary and important. All of the new political entities will have to decide how much money to allot for this purpose. These are difficult and highly-politically-charged decisions. It's clear that money spent outside of Micronesia for higher education is money taken away from the institutions inside Micronesia. And growth inside depends largely on money.

In Micronesia, college is still a place where instruction is delivered

and not a place where people get together to work on problems related to the country and its development. Herein is a part of the college's uniqueness in Micronesia: it must strive to do both.

In these brief remarks I have touched upon a number of large issues, and, I realize, have raised more questions than I have answered. While our optimism for the future must be cautious, for my own part I have been particularly gratified during my service as president because it's been my privilege to work with some really fine people and to preside over the college at the time of its accreditation. For me this has been a great personal as well as professional high point which I shall always remember. There are very few college presidents—even in the states today—who get the chance to lead an institution through its first time accreditation. I'm grateful for the opportunity and mindful of the responsibilities this entails. Although in the future it will be necessary to make adjustments and tighten-belts even further than we have already, it is clear that a great deal can be built on the foundations which have been laid. The fact that the Micronesians will do this by themselves will certainly be to their credit.

President,
Community College of Micronesia

REVIEWS

George W. Grace, ed., Special Issue, *Oceanic Linguistics: Essays in Honor of Samuel H. Elbert*, Albert J. Shütz and Emily Hawkins, eds. 15 (Summer-Winter 1976), University of Hawaii.

This special issue of the journal *Oceanic Linguistics* is two issues really, summer and winter of 1976, and is a *Festschrift*, a commemorative issue. In this case the one honored is Samuel H. Elbert, who is, as Jack Ward reminds us, "... one of the most prominent leading scholars of Hawaiian, Polynesian, and Central Oceanic Languages" (p. 8). Certainly the list of Professor Elbert's publications as given by Ward is impressive, ranging from scholarly works to popular articles to the ubiquitous *Pocket Hawaiian Dictionary* and encompassing some seventy-three titles.

The volume under consideration is not pure linguistic theory, as so many journals today (unfortunately) are, nor is it a journal which would be impossible for anyone but a linguist to read. It is in fact very good reading, and there are articles in it which would appeal to nearly everyone interested in the peoples of the Pacific. This broad current of subject matter is most welcome and though the theme is *linguistic* inquiry, it is so more in the sense of being an examination of language that almost any intelligent man can follow without needing to have access to an abstruse theoretical base.

Within this broad stream there seem to be four main divisions, or four different types of presentations. I make this distinction; it is not made in the journal. The first is literary, three poems in Hawaiian in honor of Professor Elbert: "*Mele Hahalo no Samuel H. Albert*," "*Nani Ānuenuē O Mānoa*," and "*Mānoa*." All three poems are also given in translation. The second division has only one offering in it—the bibliography of Samuel Elbert's works by Jack Ward which I alluded to earlier.

The third and fourth divisions of material are both linguistic inquiries, and I have classified them more on what I think a reader will need to have as background in order to understand and enjoy them than on any substantive differences between them. Though there are only six articles in these two divisions, they form the bulk of the issue.

The first of the linguistic divisions and the third natural division of the volume consists of essays philological. That is, they are investigations into the origins of words, and of the nature of movement of words from language to language. More importantly for the general student of Polynesian culture though, is the fact that these articles do not require a deep

understanding of linguistic theory to be appreciated. Four articles are in this division. They are Alfons L. Korn, "Some Notes on the Origin of Certain Hawaiian Shirts: Frock, Smock-Frock, Block, and *Palaka*," William H. Wilson, "The o/a Distinction in Hawaiian Possessives," Paki Neves, "Some Problems with Orthography Encountered by the Reader of Old Hawaiian Texts," and Albert J. Schütz, "Take My Word for It: Missionary Influence on Borrowings in Hawaiian."

These four articles epitomize for me a certain very desirable type of scholarly writing: rigorous, yet readable by those outside the tight circle of the writer's own discipline. Korn's article, as an example, is a fascinating inquiry into the origins of the Hawaiian word *palaka*, and of the various garments associated with the name. Korn weaves history and informed speculation together with such adroitness that the whole piece becomes (to quote Korn describing someone else), "... so fraught with dense socio-historical overtones and lexical reverberations that it deserves a full hearing" (p. 24). For me this was one of the most enjoyable articles in the journal.

The last natural division of *The Oceanic Linguistics* volume has only two essays in it. They are George B. Milner, "Ergative and Passive in Basque and Polynesian," and Robert A. Blust, "Dempwolff's Reduplicated Monosyllables." These two essays require, I would think, some fairly sophisticated study in linguistics lurking in the background of the reader.

Consider Milner's article, for instance. As he himself states,

Put into a nutshell, the argument turns on the question of whether the suffixes of Polynesian verbs . . . are associated with ergative constructions, or whether they have to do with voice, or more precisely, with active and passive constructions . . . , as was stated long ago by the nineteenth-century scholars of Polynesian languages and has recently been freshly argued by younger linguists using methods of TG grammar (p. 95).

That's quite a nutshell (one might ask, for instance, what the devil TG grammar is) unless one is more or less abreast of current linguistic trends. At least enough to follow the train of Milner's thought.

Actually, Milner's article is more than just a comparison of ergative and passive constructions. What he is really discussing, using the argument as a take-off point, is how possessing one language can interfere with our analysis of another language. It is possible, he argues, that a structure which looks like a passive and acts like a passive is in fact not a passive, but something different, and that an analysis of a language must

take into account the way the speakers of that language perceive the world and put those perceptions into words.

His discussion of Basque (not an IE language, by the way), suggests that the Basque verb "... does not have to be oriented first toward the participants" (p. 102). That is, the relationships between verbs and the participants are not merely syntactic, but presumably a mirror of the way things naturally are, and ambiguities seldom arise, not because of any linguistic markers, but because the speakers of the language live together and share a great deal of knowledge about those relationships. An affix is used on the participant noun only when that noun is not the most natural one to be in relationship to the verb of the sentence. As Milner puts it, "... an affix is resorted to when the active participant is not understood as having the most direct relationship with the predicate" (p. 103).

Milner then applies this analysis to Samoan and finds that it fits. He suggests that because in Samoan, as in Basque, the action of a sentence is not oriented toward the participants, the structures we translate as passives are more likely to be ergatives. Failure to recognize this, he notes, may be due to, "... our Indo-European linguistic prejudice" (p. 100).

For one willing to do the necessary homework, or one who has the necessary background this essay is rewarding. Without that knowledge (just what is an ergative?), the reader will have a difficult time of it, though there is much that is thought provoking in what Milner says, for beyond discussions of Basque and Samoan is the looming problem of linguistic ethnocentrism, Milner's real target.

In summation then. The special issue of *Oceanic Linguistics* is a subject matter wide enough to appeal to almost anyone interested in the Pacific, and varied in depth enough to interest the non-linguist as well as the diehard phoneme hunter.

Copies of this special issue are available for the regular subscription price of \$8.00 (since this was one year's worth, it costs one year's subscription). Inquiries should be sent to *Oceanic Linguistics*, Department of Linguistics, 1890 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822.

Ronald Shook
Brigham Young University—Hawaii Campus

John Harré and Claudia Knapman, eds. *Living in Town: Problems and Priorities in Urban Planning in the South Pacific*. Suva: The Fiji Times and Herald Ltd., 1977. Pp. 132, bibliography.

Living in Town: Problems and Priorities in Urban Planning in the South Pacific is a collection of selected papers delivered at the second South Pacific Seminar held at the University of the South Pacific in Suva, Fiji in 1971. Edited by John Harré and Claudia Knapman, this 1977 second edition is a trimmer, more precise version of the 1973 original edition. The stated purpose of this small book is to provide a brief introduction to urbanization in the South Pacific.

The book is divided into three parts and thirteen articles. Part One on "the Process of Urbanization" looks at the general characteristics of South Pacific urbanization (J. R. McCreary), with case studies from French Polynesia (Claude Robineau) and Fiji (Muneshwar Sahadeo). Part Two on "The Urban Society—Problems and Solutions," deals with Pacific urban social life (Alexander Mamak), readjustment (A. L. Bais), squatter settlements (John Samy), delinquency (Subhas Chandra), malnutrition (S. V. Parkinson), and community development (Beth Mylius). The Third Part, "Urban Planning," contains articles on social and physical resource allocation (A. V. Hughes), administration (N. D. Oram), low cost housing (Rex Green), and an ecological approach to island housing (D. Stafford Woolard).

The book looks into some very interesting and important questions: Are urban planning problems in the Pacific uniquely 'Pacific' in character? If so, should planning continue to be modelled after Western ideas? Is it not possible to design towns and cities that are 'Pacific Island' in quality and character (i.e., can we not preserve the best of the old village life while at the same time design modern urban centers)? Anthropologist John H. Bodley would refer to this last pursuit as planners seeking the "paraprimitive solution"—choosing the best and eliminating the worst of both possible worlds.

The goal of trying to determine how an island society can preserve and adapt its traditional values, resource management systems, and characteristic housing and settlement patterns into modern town life is a worthy and admirable task. The editors must be commended for asking the right questions, and, consequently, searching in the right direction. More often than not, urban planners are simply asking the wrong questions, which, in turn, leads them into bad planning decisions that lack any attempt at historical and cultural preservation. Evidence of this is the preponderance of America's unvarying urban monocultures: townscapes devoid of art, aesthetic appreciation, historic depth, and cultural diversity.

On the whole, however, the book is a disappointment. All of the above questions are left unanswered; possible alternative paths towards

seeking a modern (but traditional) town design are few and not clearly stated. Since the book lacks a concluding chapter, one is left dangling after reading through the potpourri of articles, none of which are integrated into the volume by introductory editorial comments. The book does provide a brief introduction to South Pacific urbanization, but it is simply too brief, too fragmented, and too inconclusive.

Gary A. Klee
San Jose State University

Dennis M. Ogawa, *Jan Ken Po: The World of Hawaii's Japanese Americans*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1978. Pp. 183. \$3.95, paper.

At one point in *Jan Ken Po*, the author, himself a Japanese-American, speaks of the shared need within the Hawaiian Japanese American population to appear above reproach, as if they lived inside a glass house. The book itself is an effort to describe the people who live inside the house, but to do so indirectly, not by attempting to define Hawaii's Japanese Americans, but by overviewing their values, associations, behaviors, and history. If such an undertaking seems too ambitious for so short a book, perhaps one should consider both the author's purpose and his audience. As Ogawa puts it, "This book is not intended to be totally comprehensive. The intention has been to study an ethnic group living in Hawaii from various perspectives so as to emerge with a clearer understanding of what it means to be Japanese Americans." Further, not only is the book a general introduction to this ethnic group, the language is informal, "without the complexity of academic verbiage," and is clearly geared toward a nonacademic audience familiar with Hawaii.

The title, which is symbolic of the text's contents, is taken from a Japanese children's game similar to the American children's game "Paper, Scissors and Stone." On the islands, this game has developed an Hawaiian pidgin name, "Junk an' a po, I canna show," and adapted American rules. In short, it, like Ogawa's Japanese American, is a cultural hybrid consistent with the stereotype of Hawaii's "melting pot of the Pacific" image. This is not to suggest that Ogawa is unaware of tensions and problems between Hawaiian ethnic groups. To the contrary, the best written section in the book, Chapter Six, "Reaping the Whirlwind," deals with the 1928 murder of Gill Jamieson, son of a wealthy haole (Caucasian) banker, by Miles Fukanaga, a Nisei (second generation) Japanese American. Fuka-

naga's trial, conviction, and death sentence, all of which were completed within two weeks after his arrest, brought to light ethnically differentiated double standards of justice, shamed the Japanese American population as a whole, and shattered the illusion of racial peace and harmony in Hawaii. Nevertheless, the author's contention is that in spite of problems, Hawaii's ethnic mix enjoys a "harmony unprecedented anywhere else in the United States." One reason postulated for this harmony is symbolized in the multi-cultural evolution of the children's game. Like the game's players, Hawaii's ethnic groups win and lose in their interactions with one another. As Ogawa sees it, the lack of consistent hegemony by any one group in Hawaii may be one reason for the amount of inter-cultural harmony they enjoy.

Jan Ken Po's evolution as a game distinct from its Japanese and American predecessors also symbolizes a dilemma Hawaii's Japanese Americans face: they are not really Japanese or American. Ogawa notes that even Issei (first generation) Japanese, many of whom immigrated to Hawaii at the turn of this century, are not accepted in Japan as being "truly Japanese" because of inevitable changes in language and culture which time and distance force upon people who are separated. Many of Hawaii's Yonsei (fourth generation) Japanese do not speak the language their grandfathers and great-grandfathers brought with them from their homeland. Ogawa further shows that local Japanese find pidgin English, which many of them learn in Hawaii, to be a key factor which disallows them being accepted by mainlanders, even those who are themselves Japanese Americans. Couple these language barriers with Hawaii's physical isolation from Japan and the mainland United States, and it becomes apparent that the group to which Hawaii's Japanese Americans relate is the ethnically mixed island culture. That is, through cultural diffusion, Hawaii's people generally, and its Japanese Americans specifically, have become an essence unto themselves.

Ogawa explains that the ways Jan Ken Po is played demonstrate a wide range of sophistication throughout the islands. Similarly, his book shows varying levels of intellectuality. Some of his comments have statistical backing as when he asserts that Japanese Americans have the lowest rates of divorce, crime, juvenile delinquency and illegitimate births, and have the highest educational achievement of any single ethnic group in the United States. Other ideas are folk beliefs such as his supposed origin of the label "Kotonks" given to mainland Japanese Americans. This term is said to originate from the sound of a coconut hitting a mainland Japanese American's head. Other comments are quite subjective and represent

the author's freedom to draw from his own experiences or, as in the case of a family he creates in Chapter Two, from his imagination.

The topics and techniques for *Jan Ken Po's* chapters also represent a potpourri. Each chapter could be an independent unit, disconnected from all of the others. In Chapter One, "Acting Like One Japanese," Ogawa approaches his subject from a cultural perspective as he discusses the games, songs, food, habits, and generations one might see at a gathering of Japanese at Ken (Kenjin Kai) picnics held in parks and beaches throughout Hawaii. Chapter Two, "How Shame Fo Da Family," is both a hypothetical narrative and a personal comment on the remarkable controlling influences of filial piety, family shame, and community pressures on Hawaii's Japanese Americans.

Chapter Three, "Why Are You so Much Like Me?" is probably the weakest chapter in the book. Its topics are Hawaii's image of personal beauty and the sexual mores of the state's Japanese Americans. Loosely defining conventional island beauty as similar to "models in a clothing store ad," Ogawa's generalities and particulars seem speculative. His comments about ethnic group morals also seem conjectural, and are not supported by evidence.

Giri, the moral obligation to reciprocate what one person gives to another, is discussed in Chapter Four. With great relish, Ogawa tells of the highly formalized manner in which Japanese view gift exchanges. He shows couples determining how much to spend on a friend's wedding by their estimates of how much that friend spent for their wedding. Implying that this ritualized tradition of exchange is expensive and often impractical in an inflationary modern economy, Ogawa pictures himself as one who has been victimized by his wife's moral obligation to purchase at a round robin of plasticware parties.

Chapter Five, "A Legacy of Everlasting Importance," is a brief overview focusing on the historical relationship between Japan and Hawaii which led to the Japanese immigration to the islands. Giving attention to King Kalakaua's overtures to the Emperor Meiji of Japan during his Asian trip of 1881, the chapter explains how "official" friendship between the two countries began. The result of this trip was the eventual ease with which Japanese labor became an economic staple during Hawaii's agrarian years. Eventually, this immigrant group became the largest ethnic bloc in Hawaii, although recently they have been surpassed slightly by the haole population.

The final section, Chapter Seven, from which the book received its title, is unusual because of its lack of comment. Here the author strings

together a number of island ethnic jokes and cultural narratives, many of which are in pidgin dialect. Ogawa notes that these exchanges of language allow local ethnic groups to laugh at themselves and at one another, which results in a lessening of tensions and a greater shared understanding.

In conclusion, one can fairly say that *Jan Ken Po* is worth reading if the audience is interested in viewing Hawaii's Japanese Americans as they are seen by one of their own. What the book lacks in objectivity or research, it makes up for in insight and sensitivity. The writing of *Jan Ken Po* was clearly a labor of love, and that effort paints an entertaining portrait of the people who live in the glass house.

Jeffrey Butler
Brigham Young University—Hawaii Campus

F. Edward Butterworth, *Roots of the Reorganization: French Polynesia*. Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1977. Pp. 266, illustrations, maps, bibliography. Paper \$8.00.

I was delighted when I learned that F. Edward Butterworth had written a book about the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (RLDS) in French Polynesia. Because so little has been published about either the Reorganized church or the Utah-based Latter-day Saints (Mormons) and their missionary endeavors in the Tahitian area, and because the missions of both churches had a common beginning, this volume could have added significant insights into the histories of the two churches, as well as adding a new dimension to Christian mission history in general. To my disappointment, it does not adequately meet any of these expectations.

By experience Mr. Butterworth is well prepared to write the history of the RLDS in French Polynesia. In addition to having spent nine years as mission president there (between 1964 and 1974), he has also published four other books about the islands, the most important being *The Adventures of John Hawkins*. He knows personally or has corresponded with many of the RLDS missionaries to French Polynesia during this century. Through interviews with descendants of early Tahitian church members, he has learned about events that date back to 1844. His book demonstrates his familiarity with church history sites and the geography and hydrography of Tahiti, Tubuai, and the Tuamotu Islands. He is at home with terms relating to boats, ships, and the sea.

Butterworth's stated purpose for writing this work is to "bring into focus an otherwise forgotten chapter in the history of the Restoration in Polynesia." (Foreword, p. 9) But he largely fails to do so because he evidently has not clearly selected the audience to whom he wishes to address himself or a consistent literary style. On the one hand, the book has the feel of a novel, and at times it reads like one. On the other, it has some of the trappings of a scholarly monograph. Perhaps Mr. Butterworth has attempted to appeal to all audiences. His book will probably find its greatest readership among the general members of his own church. More serious scholars, however, will generally find the volume less satisfactory.

Roots of the Reorganization does have several favorable features. It is profusely illustrated with photographs, some of them old and rare. Mr. Butterworth has also provided many maps that show not only the shapes of the islands, but also the locations of villages, cities, chapels, passes in reefs, etc. They are evidently his own productions. Perhaps the book's strongest point is Butterworth's inclusion of information about Tahitian members of the RLDS church. It can be difficult for a writer of mission history to learn much about the lives and contributions of the local people.

The book includes many interesting accounts of and incidents from RLDS history in Tahiti. Readers who accept it at face value will find it faith-promoting and at times even inspiring. Those readers who are looking for scholarly interpretation and analysis, however, will be disappointed; and scholars who demand careful documentation will be frustrated. Butterworth uses his own footnoting and bibliographic system, one that is difficult to follow and that is of little use to the reader. Two examples will illustrate this point. The notes and bibliography are combined in one section in the back of the book. Butterworth uses the following format: "1. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. 5, pp. 602-740; Vol. 6, pp. 882-1087." The reader is left wondering where and when the periodical was published, and what specific pages the author is actually referring to. Note number eleven is confusing. It reads: "11. Private collections and personal interviews: a. Saney Richmond, Papeete, Tahiti. b. Frank Thatcher Lincoln, Berkeley, California. . . ." And so on through letter z. Some of the people interviewed or collections employed (we are left to wonder which) have place names included as above, but others have only the name of a state or no location at all. Normal scholarly procedure would require the name of the source, what type of source it is—private collection or interview—where the collection is housed, or where and when the interview took place. A close look at the notes and bibliography reveals that many

of the items listed are actually only picture credits. The book needs a separate credit list for illustrations.

Roots of the Restoration could have been markedly improved by careful editing. Chapter endings sometimes leave the reader hanging. Transitions from subject to subject are frequently abrupt; and organizational problems abound. For example, for no apparent reason, Butterworth drops an eight-page (pp. 151–58) explanation concerning the Tahitian royal line into his section on the 1890s. This material belongs earlier in the book, around page 35, when Butterworth is explaining related items. The book also lacks some useful parts, such as a table of contents and index.

Butterworth begins his survey of LDS missionary work in French Polynesia at Nauvoo, Illinois, where the first Mormon missionaries to the Pacific received their calls in 1843. He traces their voyages to Tubuai, Tahiti, and the Society Islands, and eventually to the Tuamotu archipelago. He describes the missionary successes of Addison Pratt and Benjamin F. Grouard and the failure of Noah Rogers, and then explains the reasons for the closing of the Society Islands Mission in 1852. To that point the RLDS and LDS share a common history, for the Reorganized church was not formally incorporated until 1860. Butterworth's story continues with some insights into the religious history of the Tahitian saints during the period in which there were no foreign missionaries there (1852 to 1873). He emphasizes the work and contributions of John Hawkins, an elder in the church who was converted in the islands. (Addison Pratt briefly visited Tahiti in 1856 as an emissary of the Utah-based LDS church, but Butterworth either did not know this or chose to ignore it.) Following Pratt's final visit in 1856, seventeen years passed before representatives of either the RLDS or LDS churches visited French Polynesia. Mr. Butterworth tells of the unplanned visit of Charles W. Wandell and Glauud Rodger in late 1873. They were bound for Australia as RLDS missionaries; but because of a leak in their ship, they found themselves for a brief time in Tahiti. Wandell and Rodger reestablished contact with the Tahitian saints, as members of both churches were called, and later wrote to RLDS headquarters suggesting that missionaries be sent to care for the French Polynesian flock.

In 1879, William Nelson arrived as an RLDS missionary. He rebaptized many people and baptized others for the first time. He also organized the Tahitian saints into ecclesiastical bodies. For five years Nelson traveled from island to island teaching about the Reorganized church. Sometime during 1884, RLDS Apostle Thomas W. Smith arrived in Tahiti

for a three-year ministry. He, like Nelson before him, travelled widely throughout the islands, especially in the Tuamotus. From his time on, there was a steady influx of RLDS missionaries. They were almost always married couples. Butterworth provides a running account of their activities until about 1930. He then covers the period from 1930 until his own arrival in Tahiti in 1944 in a short paragraph. The period since 1944 is inadequately treated in a series of photographs.

This book unfortunately contains small errors of fact throughout, but I will confine myself to what I consider its most serious problem, that of omission. What an author leaves out is often a more important indication of his perspective than what he puts in; and in this case the greatest weakness of the book is in what Butterworth chooses to ignore. He avoids certain crucial disagreements between the RLDS and the Utah-based Mormons almost as if they did not exist. Though one senses that he is concerned about the problem, he has failed to meet it head-on.

The issues, to put it simply, are plural marriage and church authority. Butterworth's book would be of greater value had he taken on these issues directly. He could have claimed simply that his church's missionaries arrived back in French Polynesia first, and that since Brigham Young had led his followers into apostasy, an apostasy that he says included both Pratt and Grouard, as well as the other early missionaries, the RLDS missionaries in effect saved the Polynesian saints from the same error. This is evidently what he believes—why not say so? He could have avoided a good deal of side-stepping and made his whole book more creditable.

Apart from these matters of historical accuracy, the book could have been more useful if Mr. Butterworth had included some statistical material, such as the total numbers of members and groups at various times. It would probably interest most readers to know that in 1895 the RLDS were dominant on nine islands, the LDS claimed a majority of the people on eight islands, the Roman Catholics controlled seven islands, and the Protestants had most of the people on only one island. (These members are from LDS reports, but the RLDS could have arrived at the same or a similar breakdown through the use of membership statistics and the government census.)

More disappointing than the lack of statistics is the absence of any information about the current status of the RLDS in French Polynesia. Is the church growing, declining, building schools, sending missionaries from there to other fields? Is it self-supporting and locally controlled? How well is the church getting along with the government? Information of this

kind should have been included. The author undoubtedly knows more than he has told us about such matters.

It is unnecessary to go on. As I have said, Mr. Butterworth has produced a book that will be useful for general RLDS church purposes. Libraries may also want to acquire it, as will specialists in mission history, for it provides the only history of what the RLDS have undertaken in French Polynesia. But a thorough and careful analysis of the history of the Reorganized church in Tahiti remains to be written and is sorely needed.

R. Lanier Britsch

Brigham Young University—Provo Campus

E. H. McCormick. *Omai: Pacific Envoy*. Auckland: Auckland University Press and the Oxford University Press, 1977. Pp. xviii, 364, illustrations. \$31.35.

Omai was the first Polynesian to visit England and the second to visit Europe. He disembarked from the *Adventure* into a series of remarkable English adventures in the summer of 1774. In the country which was to be his home for the next two years, he found people who were willing and indeed eager to see him, study him and also to manipulate him for their own ends. The time was ripe for his advent, for under the stimulus of Rousseau's theories—which, for all the shock they caused, were merely the latest and most radical contribution to a debate which had been gathering intensity since the discovery of America—"all Europe" was arguing the merits and demerits of "nature" and "civilization" as educative influences on the moral character of man. The idea of a perfectible human society moving towards Utopia still had its passionate adherents, such as Samuel Johnson. For such men, Omai and other visitors from remote and little-known lands were simply "savages," men irretrievably remote from the Utopia of "civilization," but for many the theory of the perfectibility of society was gradually yielding to theories of the relativity of societies. Controversialists leaped at the chance to test their abstract theories by empirical observation, so that Omai became the object of scientific and theological experimentation. In a letter to a learned friend the Reverend Sir John Cullum provides a list of "the salient features of this new specimen of the human race" (McCormick, p. 129) and it is difficult to avoid a certain sense of embarrassment at seeing Cullum and other scientific English gentlemen coolly and abstractedly observing the behavior of the warm-hearted, charming, though possibly unintelligent Omai.

Cullum's letter, which McCormick quotes in detail, is only one of a considerable number of unpublished documents which this thorough-going researcher has unearthed and incorporated into his narrative. For this contribution to our knowledge about the confrontation of Polynesia and Europe, McCormick deserves the gratitude of all who are interested in the subject. *Omai* adds touches of vivid color to the picture of a crucial period in the history of both regions.

But it contains much more than these original contributions to scholarship. They could have been passed on in one or two long articles, but *Omai* is a book of no small size. It is only reasonable to ask how and why the remaining parts of the book have attained such length and comparative weight.

McCormick sets out to provide a frame-work for the story of *Omai*, and often the frame seems to dominate the picture. He has chosen to retell the whole story of Pacific exploration from Bougainville to Cook's last voyage and to include anecdotal material which touches this story at various points. In earlier chapters the author seems to be tempted to write a biography of Banks—and there is no doubt that a book of this kind from his fluent pen would be very welcome. He includes, for example, Banks's journey to Iceland and his short but turbulent engagement—interesting stories well told, but not really relevant to the story of *Omai*. It is hard to avoid the impression that they are there for their own sake, rather than for their relevance or their information value, since most of the details of Banks's life which McCormick refers to are readily available to those willing to inquire. The same applies to most of Chapter 9, for example, which re-tells Cook's third voyage, depending heavily on the Captain's journals with additions from Burney and Rickman. These parts of the book raise the question whether Beaglehole's lucid narrative and edition need a competitor. Don't they rather need a commentary and interpretation?

But McCormick's strength is in narrative, not commentary. He asks "What?" rather than "Why?" He remains uncritically close to his sources and reformulates their message. His industry, accuracy, thoroughness and stylistic skills are impressive, but he makes only sporadic use of his powers of interpretation. Often the contents of his sources seem to call out for verification by modern scholarship, but McCormick's exercise in empathy leaves no room for such verification. He notes, for example, that Bligh's informants spoke of six classes of Tahitian society, rather than the "commonly recognised" three, but he doesn't call on recent anthropological or historical research to check this out (Douglas L. Oliver, for example).

His method is essentially positivistic: it presupposes a naïve faith in

the value of factual information for its own sake. His enthusiasm for tidbits of knowledge is infectious, so that the reader is usually prepared to follow him along his bye-ways. For example: once he has found a letter by Horace Walpole which refers to Omai, he cannot resist quoting the rest of the letter, despite its irrelevance. The reader enjoys the excursion, but the overall form of the book suffers.

In reacting against positivism, Wilhelm Dilthey pointed out that while science may follow a causal chain, history discovers *meaning* in an event. Heinrich Rickert pointed out that while science is concerned with generality, history is about individuality and that individuals can only be understood with reference to a scheme of moral values, and A. D. Xénopol made similar attacks on positivism in France—and these theorists were at work in the last years of the nineteenth century! *Omai* strikes one as a pleasant, but oddly old-fashioned book.

Part of the problem is that McCormick, a New Zealander, has a natural desire to tell his story from a Pacific viewpoint. If there had never been an Omai, the history of the Pacific would scarcely have been different from what it was. Omai's true significance is within European cultural history, and even there only as an example, not as something unique. He is one of a number of visitors to Europe from non-European cultures who influenced the debate about nature, civilization, man and society. McCormick mentions the Eskimos who were in Britain at the same time as Omai, but draws no conclusions. He does not mention the other non-Europeans who, unlike Omai, left their critical accounts of Europe: the African slave Equino, for example. How interesting it would be to compare the accounts of these other literate visitors with the fictitious accounts put into Omai's mouth by English wits and satirists and reported in gratifying detail by McCormick. And even these were only examples of a genre which attained greater fame in Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* and Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes*.

Salvador de Madariaga once remarked that describing a national character is like trying to judge the speed of a moving ship from the deck of your own ship which is also moving. A conceptual framework based on a theory of the relativity of nations and cultures would seem more appropriate to Omai than the narrative framework which McCormick has chosen to provide.

Neither are occasional critical judgments or moments of speculation a substitute for a conceptual frame of reference. McCormick does not hesitate to use his critical faculties at particular points of his narrative, but he does not organize these critical insights into a coherent theoretical infra-

structure. As a result, they can tend to seem arbitrary. Symptomatic is his dismissal of Colnett's account of Omai's death as the "obviously least authentic legend." This may well be true, but the use of the word "obviously" blocks off any weighing of evidence. Similarly, McCormick shows a willingness to speculate rather than think through. He records that Omai met a certain "Mr. Conway" and wonders what was said: "Conway is as likely as any to have examined . . . Did he . . . ? Possibly . . . Or . . . Their conversation might well have . . ." After a similar series of questions (on page 194) the author remarks, "One can merely speculate." How much more satisfying it would be if one could build on the excellent insight that Bligh curiously blended tolerance towards Polynesians with intolerance towards his own countrymen (p. 273) into a considered theory of cultural relationships, incorporating perhaps the lively tolerance-debate which took place amongst theologians during the eighteenth century.

Yet, for all its structural and theoretical flaws, *Omai* makes for enjoyable reading. The scholar will find individual passages of great interest (above all Chapter 6) and the general reader will find it as good an introduction to the story of Pacific exploration as many another, before he goes on to other sources. Much of what it has to say is not new, but it is pleasantly told. And those parts which *are* new and are based on painstaking research will provide useful material for future writing-desk explorers, who will want to absorb them into their own conceptual frames of reference.

Nelson Wattie

Department of English Studies,
Cologne University, West Germany

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